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ANTIQUARIAN  
RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.  
(PARTS I. AND II.)

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

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# ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

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# ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

## I—EPITAEURUM—CANALI—RISINIUM.

OWING to the neighbourhood of the civilized republic of Ragusa, which sprang as it were from the ashes of the Græco-Roman city, the antiquities of the Dalmatian Epidaurus have been investigated from the early days of the Renascence. The merchant antiquary, Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Ragusa during his voyage into the Levant, undertaken in 1435, had already begun the work of copying the remaining inscriptions, which was continued in the next century by the native Ragusan antiquaries, who supplied Aldus Manutius and others with epigraphic materials from the Epidaurian site. The work thus early begun was worthily continued in the last century by the Ragusan patrician De Sörgo,<sup>a</sup> more recently by Dr. J. A. Kasnačić and others, and Professor Mommsen personally collated many of the inscriptions for the great work of the Berlin Academy.<sup>b</sup> The aqueduct and general antiquities of the site are treated at length by Appendini, but in a somewhat fantastic and uncritical manner.<sup>c</sup> A residence on the spot has now

<sup>a</sup> *Comment. Lud. Cervarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento Urbis Rhacusanae.* Ragusa, 1790.

<sup>b</sup> The hitherto known inscriptions from the site are collected in C. I. L. iii. p. 288 *seqq.* and Prof. Mommsen (*s. v.* EPIDAEURUM) gives a résumé of the earlier sources for the epigraphy of the place.

<sup>c</sup> *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle Antichità, Storia e Letteratura di Ragusa.* Ragusa, 1802, t. i. lib. i. ii. The remains at Ragusa Vecchia have been touched on since Appendini's time by Stieglitz, *Istrien*

enabled me to make some fresh contributions to the materials already collected, and to correct perhaps some prevailing misconceptions.

The site of the ancient city, at present occupied by a small town called, by a curious transference of names, Ragusa Vecchia, but still known to its Slavonic-speaking inhabitants as Zavat or Cavtat, from the earlier Romance form *Civitate*, is on a small peninsula jutting out from the opposite side of the bay to that on which its offspring Ragusa stands. Although the Dalmatian Epidaurus, or, to accept the prevalent local orthography, Epitaurum,\* does not appear in history till the time of the Civil Wars, the name itself may be taken as a sufficient indication that it was an Adriatic colonial station of one or other of its Peloponnesian namesakes; and its peninsular site was just one of those which offered special advantages to the early Greek settlers on a barbarian coast.

Mommsen, indeed, who visited this site in order to collate the monuments for the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, has revived in a new form a theory, already propounded by Mannert,<sup>b</sup> and others, that the site of Epitaurum is to be sought at Prevlaka, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, and not on the peninsula of Ragusa Vecchia. It has been pointed out by these authorities that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* makes Epitaurum 105 miles distant from Lissus and 103° from Narona, while Pliny<sup>d</sup> makes it equidistant—100 miles from either—and it has been urged that these measurements can only be reconciled with the position of Prevlaka.

As Mommsen however himself admits, the statement of the *Itinerarium Maritimum*<sup>e</sup> that Epitaurum was 200 stadia from the isle of Melita (Meleda) can

*und Dalmazien*, p. 264 (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845), Wilkinson, *Dalmatia* i. 373 (London, 1848), Kohl, *Reise nach Istrien, Dalmazien und Montenegro*, ii. 83 *seqq.* (Dresden, 1856), Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia* (Venezia, 1870), and others, but the notices are slight and add little to our knowledge.

\* On a *Privilegium Veteranorum* of Vespasian found at Salona there is mention of a P. Vibius Maximus,—EPITAVR . EQ . R. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the name appears as *Epitauro*: in the Geographer of Ravenna as *Epitauron* (379, 14) and *Epitaurum* (208, 10). In St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) *Epitaurum*: in the sixth century Council-Acts of Salona, *Epitaurensis Ecclesia*. The town is alluded to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) as τὸ πᾶστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα; and its early Slavonic name was *Starigrad Pitaur*, still preserving the *t* in preference to *d*. The readings of Ptolemy (2, 16, 5), Pliny (23, 143), and Antonine (*It. Mar.* 520), cannot weigh against this consensus of local testimony; but we need not with Prof. Tomaschek (*Die vordalmische Topographie*, &c. p. 37) seek an Illyrian derivation for the name.

<sup>b</sup> 7, 350.

<sup>c</sup> Accepting the correction of the distance Narona—Ad Turres (see p. 79).

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. Nat.* iii. 22, 143.

<sup>e</sup> Δ MELITA EPIDAVROS STADIA CC. *It. Antonini*, 520.





only be reconciled with the Ragusa-Vecchian site. He further observes that any one who, like himself, has visited Ragusa Vecchia, who has seen the remains of the amphitheatre cut out of the solid rock, the traces of the Roman harbour, the inscriptions which, though not presenting in a single case the name of the city, are numerous and imposing, and the other abundant traces of Roman habitation that are daily brought to light, can fail to recognise the fact that a famous and important Roman city must have existed at this spot, epithets which, among all the Roman stations on the coast between Lissus and Narona, alone apply to the Colony of Epitaurum.\*

In order to reconcile these conflicting indications Mommsen has recourse to the hypothesis that the original Epitaurum existed at Prevlaka, but that for some reason unknown, and at a still flourishing period of the Roman Empire, it was transferred to the Ragusa-Vecchian site; so that there would be an Old and New Epitaurum as well as an Old and New Ragusa.

This hypothesis, not very hopeful in itself, appears to me to be untenable for several reasons. At Prevlaka a single inscription only has been discovered, referring to a decurion of the *Sergian* tribe,<sup>b</sup> the tribe to which the citizens of Risinium and the Roman predecessor of Cattaro belonged, but not the tribe of the Epidauritans, which was the *Tromentine*. Taken by itself, therefore, this inscription supplies internal evidence that it belonged to one of the known Roman cities of the Rhizonic Gulf. A careful examination of the isthmus and peninsula of Prevlaka has convinced me that no ancient town has ever existed at that spot.<sup>c</sup> Not only are all architectural traces wanting, but the soil is absolutely deficient in those minor relics, such as fragments of pottery and tiles, that always mark an ancient site.

On the other hand, there have been discovered on the site of Ragusa Vecchia indubitable relics of Hellenic intercourse, dating from præ-Roman times.

\* C. I. L. iii. p. 287, s. v. EPIDAUROM. I do not know to what Prof. Mommsen refers as the remains of the Amphitheatre.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1738.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga archeologiškoga Društva* (*Journal of the Croatian Archaeological Society*), iii. p. 52, and cf. ii. p. 102, completely corroborates my observations: "Na Prevlaki neostoje ni traga rimskom gradu, a rimski nadpis koji ondje stoji uzidan u crkvi bez dvojbe je iz Risna ili iz Kotora donesen." (There is not a trace of a Roman town at Prevlaka, and the Roman inscription, which is there walled into the church, has been doubtless transported from Risano or Cattaro.) Dr. Ljubić is replying to G. Gelchich, who in his *Memorie sulle Bocche di Cattaro* (Zara, 1880), p. 7, asserts at random that remains of the city exist at Prevlaka.

Among the coins here brought to light, I have noticed several silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, of the third century B.C., in one case an autonomous coin of Scodra, dating probably from about the year 168 B.C.,<sup>a</sup> and I have, myself, picked up a small brass coin of Bœotia. A few years since there was dug up here a pale carnelian intaglio in the perfect Greek style, representing Apollo Agyieus, guardian of roads and streets, leaning on a pillar and holding forth his bow.<sup>b</sup> The old Greek connexion with this part of the Dalmatian coast is still traceable in the local names, and one of the Ragusan islands has preserved in a corrupted form the name of the *Elaphites Nésoi*.<sup>c</sup>

Finally, I hope to be able to adduce some fresh evidence as to the course of the land communication between Epitaurum and Naronæ which may serve to reconcile completely the statements of Pliny and the author of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with the position of Epitaurum as indicated by existing remains, and may enable us to dispense once and for all with the ingenious hypothesis of Mommsen. This evidence I am compelled to reserve for a future paper; but it may be useful to mention that I have discovered the traces of the Roman junction road from Epitaurum, running inland, and not, as hitherto supposed, along the coast; and that an inscription on this road shows that, in Claudius's time at any rate, the maritime terminus of this road was to be found on the Ragusa-Vecchian site.

The existing architectural remains of Epitaurum are small. The rocky nature of the soil has hindered the usual accumulation of *humus*, which so often preserves for us at least the foundations of ancient buildings. On the other hand, what remained of the Roman city has, no doubt, largely contributed to supply its more renowned mediæval offspring with building materials. Epitaurum, only seven miles distant, across the bay, by sea, has become a convenient quarry for Ragusa. Traces of the quay, however, and parts of the city walls, may yet be seen, and the ancient steps, cut in the rock, show that several of the steep and narrow streets of Ragusa Vecchia, the small town that now partially occupies the

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pl. XIII. fig. 2.

<sup>b</sup> This gem is now in the possession of Mr. W. J. Stillman. It greatly resembles that engraved by King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XV. fig. 8, and probably preserves the outlines of a celebrated statue.

<sup>c</sup> Lopud (*It. Mezzo*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Dalafota*, i.e. *Da Lafota* or *D'Alafota*, Cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag, 1879, p. 9. Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 80, 151), mentions the seven *Elaphites Insulæ* as lying south of Melita (Meleda).







site, follow the Roman street-lines. On the height, now crowned by a chapel of S. Rocco, are evident remains of the Roman cemetery, the oblong cavities of *sarcophagi* being cut out of the solid rock ; and on the shore of the Bay of Tiha, along which the Roman road leading to the peninsula gate of Epitaurum must have run, are still to be seen Roman mortuary inscriptions cut in the face of a ledge of rock. That considerable suburbs existed on this side is shown by the fact that Roman remains are abundant as far as Obod, where a fine tessellated pavement<sup>a</sup> was discovered in the last century ; and in the bay itself walls believed to be Roman are at times visible in the shallows. On the further side of the present harbour of Ragusa Vecchia Roman remains are also distinctly traceable. In the walls and courtyards of the present town are fragments of sculpture, and columns, inscriptions, and monuments, amongst which is an interesting representation of a Roman *Signifer* (fig. 1).<sup>b</sup>

Fig. 1. ROMAN SIGNIFER.

<sup>a</sup> " I di cui vivacissimi colori con maraviglioso artificio fra loro disposti presentano all' occhio una serie luminosa di vaghissime liste," is Appendini's high-flown description of this mosaic in 1802. *Storia di Ragusa*, p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> The engraving which I here reproduce is taken from my work on Bosnia, in which I have already given a popular account of some of the Roman Antiquities of Ragusa Vecchia.

But the most important relic that remains of Roman Epitaurum is unquestionably the Aqueduct. The total length of this great work, the remains of which extend to a mountain source called Vodovalja, on the further side of the plain of Canali, is about fifteen miles. I have myself traced it throughout the greater part of its course, and from a comparison of its different levels am persuaded that the water was in places conducted up eminences *à siphon* by means of large reservoirs *à chasse* and *à fuite*, as has been shown to be the case with some of the great aqueducts of Provence. The arches by which it spanned the level tracts have unfortunately all perished, though some were existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum within the memory of man. The last pier of one of these, formerly existing just outside the present gate of Ragusa Vecchia, was removed not longer ago than 1875 to widen the road in honour of the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit. The great length of this aqueduct curiously illustrates the known daintiness of the Romans in regard to their water supply. At a point several miles nearer Ragusa Vecchia the aqueduct spanned a mountain source called Gljuta, far more copious than that to which it is ultimately conducted. The water of the Gljuta, so far as my own experience goes, is not only deliciously cool to bathe in but eminently drinkable. I found however that the natives of the district through which the aqueduct runs, and to which it gives its name Canali, the old Serbian Župa Konavalska, have a prejudice against either drinking or bathing in the water of this stream. They declare that it is slightly saline, and that after drinking it you are quickly seized with thirst again, that bathing in it is liable to give you ague, and that it is not beneficial to herbage. Hence they call it Gljuta, or the bitter water. This prejudice may be traditional, since, although the Canalesi are at the present day a Slav-speaking people, the name Canali itself, and many of the village names\* of the district as well as some of the prevalent physical types attest a considerable survival of Illyro-Roman blood.

\* As for instance *Molunta* (cf. Illyrian-Messapian suffix *-untum*, *-ventum*, &c.), *Vitaljina* from *Vitalis*, *Cilippi*, not to speak of the mediæval reminiscences of Epitaurum, as *Starigrad Pitaur*, and its modern local name, *Cavtat*=*Civitate*, cf. Rouman: *Cetate*, *Citat*, Albanian: *Giulet*, &c. (cf. p. 82). Excavations conducted by my friend Dr. Luschan and myself in mediæval cemeteries about Mrcine and Sokko, not far distant from the head of the Aqueduct, amply demonstrate the prevalence of non-Slavonic crania. For the survival of Roman local names in the territory of Ragusa, see Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 8. Still more curious are the fragments of the Roman provincial dialect of Dalmatia existing in the Slavonic dialect of the Ragusans. Vide Prof. Luko Zore, *Dubrovnik*, iii. p. 195, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.)





The remains of the piers that still exist are formed of a conglomerate of rubble-masonry, mortar, and bricks, and not of deftly-hewn blocks as in the aqueduct of Salona. The most interesting feature in the existing remains is the conduit hewn out of the solid rock, which may be traced for miles in the more hilly part of the country to be traversed, taking great curves in order to maintain the level. In the last century, to judge from a manuscript letter of the secretary of the Republic of Ragusa, Antonio Alleti, to his friend Mattei at Rome, it must have been still more perfect. "I have been," he writes on December 14, 1724, "with much satisfaction at Canali to see the Aqueduct through which the Romans from a distance of thirty Italian miles [an exaggerated estimate] used to conduct the water to Epidaurum, and in order the better to enjoy that venerable antiquity at times I rode on horseback in the very channel in which at one time the water ran." \*

It is noteworthy that in Canali the breadth of the channel of the Aqueduct is nearly three times as great as at Ragusa Vecchia. More water was needed in this part of its course to be employed in irrigating the fields. The district of Canali is still the best artificially-watered tract in the whole of Dalmatia, and the inhabitants seem to have preserved the art of irrigation from ancient days.

The Aqueduct on abutting on the peninsular hill on which Epitaurum stood ran along the northern wall of the Roman city, which follows for awhile the northern steep of the peninsula, the city itself lying below on the southern flank of the hill, where the town of Ragusa Vecchia is at present situate. From the north-western angle of the old city wall it descends slightly, in part of its course by a subterranean channel tunnelled out of the rock, to a semicircular Chamber overlooking the ancient quay, and which appears to have formed part of the public baths.

Just above this spot I excavated a very perfect portion of the ancient channel. The channel itself had been hewn, here as elsewhere, in the more rugged part of its course out of the limestone rock, but the vault above had been constructed of masonry and concrete. From the pitch of the vaulting to the floor the height

\* "Sono stato con sommo contento in Canali per vedere gli avanzi dell' Acquedotto per cui i Romani dalla lontananza di trenta miglie avevano condotto l'acqua in Epidauro, e per maggior godere di quella veneranda antichità alla volta con cavallo mi cacciai in quel letto medesimo su cui un tempo scorreva l'acqua." The correspondence of Alleti is in the possession of Don Paulovich of Ragusa, by whose kindness I am enabled to reproduce the parts bearing on the antiquities of Epitaurum. Cervarius Tubero, *Commentaria suorum temporum*, remarks, "Quod autem Canalensis ager territorii Epidaurii fuerit, argumentum est opus mirabilis structuræ effectum, quâ a vigesimo prope milliaro aqua in urbem perducta est, partim subterraneo rivo, partim opere arquato."

was exactly five feet, the object being apparently to enable workmen to walk along it when repairs were necessary. The rock walls sloped inwards from the spring of the arch so as to present a somewhat coffin-like section, due, no doubt, as in the case of a coffin, to the desire to give space for the upper and broader part of a man's body. The base was trilateral (fig. 2).

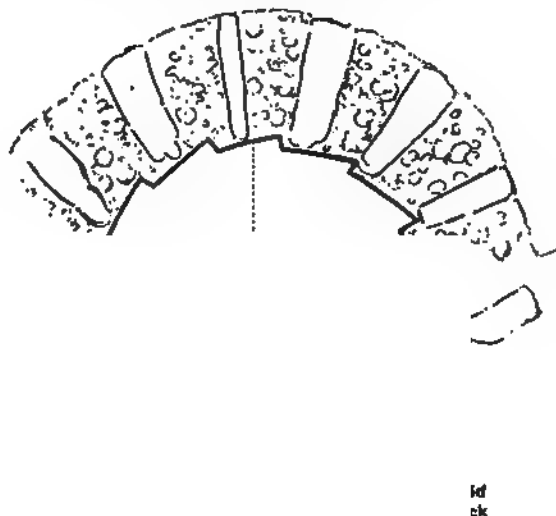


Fig. 2. SECTION OF AQUEDUCT TUNNELLED THROUGH ROCK.  
EPITAEURUM.

The most remarkable feature, however, is the vaulting above the rock channel. The concrete with which its surface is coated presents a curious cogged or serrated section, due to the impression of the planks of the wooden framework or centering on the soft material, as is proved by the grain of the wood being itself in places reproduced. From this it appears that the centering employed by the







Epitaurian architect was different from those generally in use at the present day. That it consisted of overlapping planks supported below on a semicircular framework is evident, but it is difficult to understand what the special advantages of this form of centering may have been. The fact, however, that no interstices are left between the planks, shows that the concrete used was of a very soft nature.

Showing  
in wall a  
Q. probab.  
E.E. Mar  
rom

Approx. Breadth of bath floor. D—D = 46 ft.  
Exterior Breadth Q—Q = 72 ft.

(Fig. 3.)

The Aqueduct Channel is 8½ feet above the cement  
floor of bath.

Breadth of outer wall D.F. = 13 feet.

Bath Chamber at Epitaurum.  
(Ragusa Vecchia.)

The semicircular basin into which the channel of the aqueduct runs was excavated by me in 1878 (fig. 3). The water entered the Chamber by a semicircular niche containing two steps 8 inches high. This again opens into what was evidently a semicircular Piscina, about 46 feet in diameter, floored with cement, and surrounded with a ledge on which the bathers could stand. The depth of the Piscina is 3 feet 6 inches, about half a foot deeper than a similar bath at Pompeii. Not only the niche and surrounding walls and ledge, but the concrete floor of the bath itself, had been covered with plaques of marble, all of which—with the exception of fragments—had been removed by the inhabitants. The channel of the Aqueduct is continued along the middle of the western wall of the building, and thence along another wall which follows the line of the straight

side of the Piscina. Unfortunately, however, the ruin of the rest of the bath buildings has been too complete to admit of reconstruction.

The hitherto known inscriptions discovered on this site are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and many of those still existing on the spot have been personally examined by Professor Mommsen. The most important of these, containing an honorary dedication by the cities of Upper Illyricum to P. Corn. Dolabella, who, as Pro-prætor under Tiberius, directed the execution of at least five great lines of roadway from Salona into the Dalmatian interior, now, unfortunately, exists only in a fragmentary condition.\* According to the accounts of the Ragusan antiquaries, this inscription was originally discovered, together with a head and other fragments of a statue, at Obod, in 1547, in the remains of a small quadrangular building that lies about a mile distant on the line of the Roman roadway that leads to Epitaurum from the north. The building itself has the appearance of a low tower, about 18 feet square, and, according to the testimony of a local antiquary, originally showed traces of a cupola.

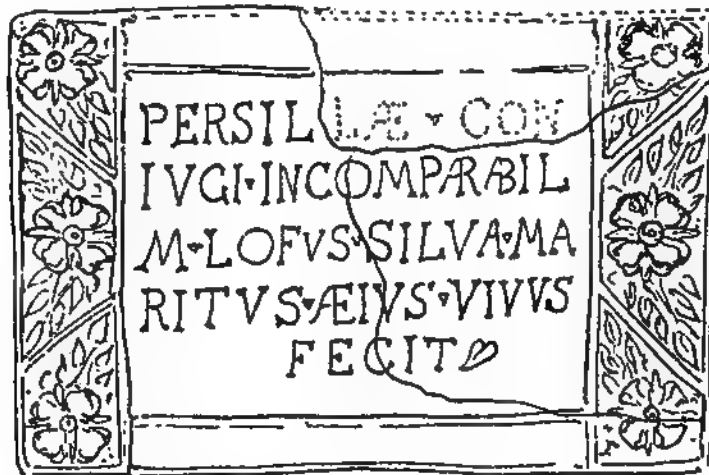


Fig 4. EPITAURUM.

It has certainly been built up of the remains of an earlier building, as frag-

\* C. I. L. iii. 1741. In its perfect state the inscription ran: P. CORNELIO || DOLABELLÆ COS || VII. VIRO. EPVLONI || SODALI TITIENSI || LEG. PRO. PR. DIVI. AVGVSTI || ET. TI. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI || CIVITATES SUPERIORIS || PROVINCIAE ILLYRICI. This Dolabella is referred to by Vellejus Paterculus, who, after mentioning the good government of his Illyrian province by Junius Blæsus in A.D. 14, continues: "Cujus curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimæ, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est."





ments of moulding and a portion of a triangular arch had been built into the walls.

To the inscriptions discovered at Ragusa Vecchia I am able to add the following. The right hand portion of fig. 4 I found in 1875, embedded in a recently constructed wall in the upper part of the town. I afterwards learnt that the inscription had originally been discovered in a more perfect state, and succeeded in obtaining from an inhabitant of Ragusa Vecchia a native copy of the inscription in its entirety, from which I here supplement my own.

On the lower part of a sarcophagus carved out of the solid rock, in the Roman cemetery already mentioned as existing on the summit of the Epitaurian peninsula, I was able to decipher the following fragment of an inscription (fig. 5) :



Fig. 5. INSCRIPTION ON SARCOPHAGUS HEWN OUT OF THE ROCK.  
EPITAEURUM.

Hearing that a "written stone" had been found some time since, embedded in the Roman Aqueduct, at a point near the north-east corner of the ancient city, but had subsequently been removed for building purposes, along with other fragments from the same source, and buried in the foundation of a wall, I prevailed on the owner of the wall to permit its re-excavation. It proved to contain the following not uninteresting inscription. (See fig. 6.)

The portion of the inscription that has been preserved may be completed :

|| AQVILIO || . F. TROM(*entina sc. tribu*) AQVILINO  
AEDILI II VIRO IVRE DICVNDQ QVI<sup>o</sup>QVENNALI.

We are thus presented with the first epigraphic record of the highest municipal dignity at Epitaurum—that of the *Duumviri Quinquennales*—elected every

Fig. 6. EPITAUURUM.

lustrum, or five years, to discharge in their *Municipium* duties analogous to those performed by the Censors at Rome, whose title, indeed, they on occasion assumed.\* One of their most important functions was to revise, in accordance with the fundamental law of the city, the list of the *Decuriones*, or local Senators, and to enter it in the album, or *Libro d' Oro*, of their civic Republic. The Patrician Roll of Epitaurum, perpetuated and renewed by its offspring Ragusa, was closed by Napoleon within the memory of man.

The mention of the local *Ædile* is also new on Epitaurian monuments. The Aqueduct in the ruins of which the inscription was found would have been under his special charge; and we are tempted to believe that the magistrate whose name it records, and who added to his duties of municipal Consul and Censor that of guardian of the public works,<sup>b</sup> had connected his name in some honourable manner with this important fabric.

\* Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, pt. iii. sec. i. p. 360. Their financial functions seem to have been later on transferred to the *Curatores*.

<sup>b</sup> At Dyrrhachium (Durazzo), *Ænona* (Nona), and *Apsorus* (Oszero) on this coast, the titles of *ÆDILIS* and *IVIR QVINQVENNALIS* are coupled on inscriptions. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 611, 2977, 3188.) *ÆDILIS IVIR* is common: but on the other hand there were *Ædiles* who were not *Duumvirs*, and *Duumvirs*







Considering the peninsular position of the town, the character of the soil, and the climate, which rendered it liable to droughts, the water supply of the city, notwithstanding the existence of an aqueduct, must have been a special care of the civic officers; and we find accordingly another Epitaurian monument recording the restoration by the Duumviri Jure Dicundo, at the public expense, of a large cistern or reservoir.\* The present city of Ragusa, though provided with an aqueduct constructed by a Neapolitan architect in the fifteenth century, stands greatly in need, during a dry season, of such a reservoir as was provided for her Roman predecessor by the wisdom of the Epitaurian magistrates. The Duumvirs, or local Consuls, are referred to on two other monuments. From an unpublished letter of the then Secretary of the Republic, Antonio Alleti,<sup>b</sup> the brother-in-law of the great Ragusan antiquary, Banduri, it appears that part of the bust of the Duumvir M. Pomentinus Turbo was, in 1724, still attached to the monument recording his name. In three instances decrees of the Decuriones are preserved, in which these municipal senators pay, in the name of their city, the last honours to citizens that had served it. In two instances they vote a public statue: in one case the mother and grandmother of the deceased treating the Decurions, the Sacral College of the Augustals, and their officers or Sexviri, to a banquet, and the citizens at large to a show of prizefighters.<sup>c</sup> The third inscription, relating to

who were not *Ædiles*. At Narona we read of *AEDILIS IIIIVIR*: at Salona of a *Curule Ædile*. (C. I. L. iii. 2077.)

\* P. VIRIVS . P. F. VERBIOVS || P. ANVLEVS . BASVS || II . VIR . I . D || CISTERNAM . EX pecunia . publica . REFICIEN||DAM . OVRAVERVNT. (C. I. L. iii. 1750.)

<sup>b</sup> Antonio Alleti, Segretario della Repubblica di Ragusa, al Rev<sup>do</sup> Don Georgio Mattei, a Roma, Dec. 14, 1724: "Mi sono impossessato di un mezzo busto di marmo ed è la figura di M. POMETINO figlio di M. POMETINO TURBONE IIVIRO I. D." The inscription has been published by Aldus Manutius and others and is given by Mommsen, who had himself personally collated it, in C. I. L. iii. 1748; but the hitherto unpublished passage in Alleti's correspondence is, I believe, the only reference to the bust which formerly accompanied it. The inscription itself at present exists in the Casa Gozze at Ombla. Alleti adds, "Anche allo scoglio di Mercanna ho trovato frammenti di vari iscrizioni senza però che abbia potuto cavare altro che un barlume indistinto." (Mercanna is a rocky isle opposite the peninsula on which Epitaurum stood; personally I have been unable to find Roman remains there.) In a letter written from Ragusa in April 1714 he describes an urn found near Ragusa Vecchia with *TIPANSIANAS* stamped on the lid. The stamp of the *Figlinae Pansianae* is common on Dalmatian sites. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 3213.)

<sup>c</sup> P. AELIO . P. F || TRO || OSILLIANO || NOVIA . BASILLA || MATER . ET . NOVIA . IVS || TILLA . AVIA . POSVERVNT || ET . SPORTVLIS . DECVRIO || AVGVSTALIVS ET SEXVIRIS DATIS ITEM PVGILVM || SPECTACVLO DEDICAVR||VNT HVIC VNIVERSVS || ORDO DECVRIONATVS || HONOREM ET LOCVM || STATVAE DECREVIT. (C. I. L. iii. 1745.) Discovered in 1856 in the ruins of an ancient building on the shore.

a decree of the Decurions, has been only imperfectly given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,\* and I therefore reproduce it—

L. F INVITILLA  
FILIO PISSIMO  
VFL<sup>D</sup>DDN.

Nothing, indeed, is more instructive on this site than the large proportion of inscriptions illustrating the municipal life of Epitaurum. Out of twenty-three extant inscriptions no less than ten, or nearly half the total number, refer to the civic government or record the public benefaction of some citizen to the town. Of *tituli militares* there are only two. This overwhelming preponderance of civil and civic records becomes all the more noticeable when we compare the case of Epitaurum with that of the neighbouring coast towns on either side. At Risinium, indeed, out of twenty inscriptions only two have any reference to the common weal. Even at Narona, where there are some splendid records of private munificence to the city, the proportion of municipal records is far smaller than at Epitaurum. At that city the nucleus and germs of the later municipality are to be found in an informal commercial colony of Roman citizens in an Illyrian emporium who formed a *vicus* governed by two Magistri and two Quæstors.<sup>b</sup> On the deduction hither of a formal colony about the time of Augustus we find the city governed by *IIIIVIRI*, but the civic life of the place seems rather to have centered in the sacral guild of the Augustales, whose *Sexviri* are mentioned in no less than eighteen inscriptions found in that site; and the liberality of the citizens is chiefly displayed in vows of temples and altars to the Gods. The government of a *vicus* was based on sacral rather than purely political relations, and this characteristic seems to have clung to the city even in its later colonial days. At Epitaurum, on the other hand, which was not in its origin a native market, a mere Illyrian tribal aggregation, later moulded into shape by a guild of Roman merchants, but, as its very name proclaims, a Greek colonial city, the case would have been very different from that of Narona. At Epitaurum we may believe that the local Senate, or *Ordo Decurionatus*, and the Plebs of the Roman Municipium, were in some degree, at all events, nothing more than a recasting in a Roman guise of the Boulê and Dêmos of the original

\* C. I. L. iii. 1746, on the authority of Dr. Eitelberger (*Jahrbuch der Central Commission*, &c. v. 288), who makes the third line simply L D D. The letters, however, as given in my copy, are perfectly clear.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1820, and cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291, s. v. NARONA.





Dorian colony, still known by their old names in the Greek-speaking half of the Empire on the borders of which this city never ceased to stand. In the Parian colony of Pharia, in the isle of Lesina, which lies a little further up the Adriatic coast, inscriptions<sup>a</sup> have been discovered referring to the Boulê and Dêmos of the Greek city, to the Dêmach and Prytanes. We find a self-governing community, waging war with the Illyrian mainlanders,<sup>b</sup> striking coins in its own name, receiving legates from another city, and sending a deputation to consult the Delphic oracle. Issa, a Syracusan insular colony on the same Dalmatian shore, presents us with similar monuments,<sup>c</sup> and her Roman Municipium<sup>d</sup> was only a perpetuation of the earlier and more complete autonomy of her Hellenic days. The discovery of Greek coins and gems on the site of Epitaurum to which I have already referred gives us something more than etymological evidence that the Roman city sprang out of an earlier Greek foundation; and though, in the absence of epigraphic records, we are at present debarred from knowing the exact form of its autonomous institutions, we may with confidence infer their general character. To these Hellenic antecedents, to the abiding Hellenic contact of the Roman city, I would refer the specially high development of the civic sense noticeable on the existing monuments of Epitaurum.

Among the gems of Roman date discovered at this site I have noticed another interesting indication of the Hellenic traditions of Epitaurum. Three of those in my possession contain representations of Æsculapius, in two cases associated with Hygieia. This may be taken as fair evidence that the special cult of the Saronic Epidauros was perpetuated in its Illyrian namesake. Dedicatory inscriptions to the God are unfortunately wanting, but the fact that the cult of Æsculapius flourished in the neighbouring city of Naronæ, and that his name appears there twice under the quasi-Greek form of Æscclapius, is not without significance, as showing the extent to which the cult of the Epidaurian patron had taken root in Roman times on this part of the Dalmatian coast. The serpent form under which the God of healing was worshipped in his inmost shrine may still indeed be said to haunt the ruined site of the Starigrad Pitaur. St. Jerome, writing in the fifth

<sup>a</sup> C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, b, c, d, e. All these Pharian inscriptions are now in the museum at Agram. Vide S. Ljubid, *Inscriptiones quæ Zagabrie in museo nationali asservantur*. Zagabrie, 1876, p. 71 seqq.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, c. The mainlanders with whom the Pharians seem to have been at war were the Jadasini, the inhabitants, that is, of the later Jadera (Zara) and their Liburnian allies.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. G. ii. 1834.

<sup>d</sup> In C. I. L. iii. 2074, are mentioned two *decuriones* of the Roman Municipium of Issa.

century,\* mentions that the inhabitants of the Dalmatian town of Epitaurum, who we may inferentially assume to have been then Christian, had handed down a most marvellous tale of how St. Hilarion had freed their city from a portentous serpent or "Boa,"<sup>b</sup> that was devouring both men and cattle, and in this early legend<sup>c</sup> we may be allowed to see reflected the final triumph of Christianity over the local cult. The horrible aspect of this Epitaurian serpent will surprise no one who understands the peculiar animosity displayed by the early missionaries against the God of healing, who as the pagan master-worker of miracles did most to rival their own. At a centre of Æsculapian worship, more than elsewhere, the counteracting tradition of mighty Christian miracles was necessary, and Hilarion, we are told, not only compelled the portent to mount his *auto da fè*, but during a great earthquake, probably the historical earthquake of Julian's time,<sup>d</sup> rolled back the waves that were threatening to engulf the city. The cult of the new and Christian miracle-worker of Epitaurum still survives on the spot,<sup>e</sup> and an unfathomed cavern,<sup>f</sup> whose precipitous recesses descend into a watery abyss, is pointed out by local tradition as the former habitat of the portentous *Boa*. At the present day the peasants tell you that it is the haunt of the Serbian nymphs or Vilas, and that at times a terrible "Neman," or portent, somewhat akin to the Irish Phooka, plunges into its depths. Lying as it does, near the upper or northern wall of the Roman city, it is reasonable to suppose this mysterious abyss to have supplied a local habitation for mythic beings in ancient as well as

\* S. Hieronymi *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 2, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*.

<sup>b</sup> "Draco miræ magnitudinis quas gentili sermone Boas vocant." The word *boa* = huge serpent, was known to Pliny (8, 8, 14). It is remarkable that a large species of snake still found in this district is known to the present Slav-speaking inhabitants as *kravoscjac*, i. e. cow-sucker, as it is supposed to suck the milk of cows. As Coleti, however, judiciously remarks, it is hardly big enough to swallow a dove.

<sup>c</sup> The words of St. Jerome, who must have had opportunities of taking down the tale from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, are worth notice: "Hoc Epidaurus et omnis illa regio usque hodie prædicat matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam in posteros transmittendam."

<sup>d</sup> This earthquake is placed by the Chronicle of Idatius in the year 885.

<sup>e</sup> In the sonorous words of Appendini (*Storia di Ragusa*, vol. i. p. 68): "Il culto verso questo Santo non è punto scemato appresso i Ragusei: anzi una parrocchia di cui egli è il Titolare: il concorso nel dì della sua festa ad una piccola capella vicina a Ragusa Vecchia (e ciò per voto), e tre altre piccole chiese innalzate nel sobborgo di Ragusa in sua memoria perpetueranno in tutti secoli avvenire la tenera pietà e gratitudine dei Ragusei verso un sì gran Santo e Protettore."

<sup>f</sup> The existing popular tradition given by Appendini and others, that this and another cave on Mt. Sniesnitza (about five hours distant from Ragusa Vecchia) were sacred to Æsculapius or Cadmus, is of course of later engrafting, and is akin to the appearance of Dolabella in Ragusa-Vecchian folk-lore.







modern times. It is known to the inhabitants by the name Scipun or Šipun, a word of no Slavonic origin.

It is certain that another ancient cult connected with rocks and caverns, and therefore singularly adapted to the limestone ranges of Dalmatia, that of Mithra, "the rock-born,"<sup>a</sup> flourished at Epitaurum during the Roman Empire. In my work on Bosnia I have already described the discovery of a rock containing a rude bas-relief of Mithra, which stands on the Colle S. Giorgio, that overlooks the site of Epitaurum on the land side. The relief, which is unfortunately much weather-worn, represents Mithra in the usual attitude, sacrificing the mystic bull between two ministers, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, and both with their legs crossed. The representation does not, as is so usually the case, stand in connexion with a natural cave. The Mithraic *spelæum* was necessary to the worshippers as the mystic image of this sublunary world, to which the spirit of man descended, and from which when duly purged by ritual it was to ascend once more, according to their creed, to its celestial abode.<sup>b</sup> We are therefore left to suppose that, in this as in some other instances, the "cave" itself was artificially constructed against the natural rock on which the icon itself is carved. The rock itself faces east, according to the universal Mithraic practice, and within the area which would have been included in the artificial *spelæum*, now wholly destroyed, are two square blocks hewn out of the solid rock, and with a small gutter round them, which were evidently altars. In the artificial *spelæum* found at Kroisbach, in Hungary,<sup>c</sup> two votive altars were found. In the Mithraic temple at Ostia, attached to the baths of Antoninus Pius,<sup>d</sup> there was one large square altar before the chief icon at the east end, and seven smaller ones near what may be described as a side chapel. Representations of these

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν πετρογένη, the epithet applied to Mithra by Johannes Lydus. So St. Jerome (*Adv. Jovinianum*, 247), "Narrant et gentiliū fabulæ Mithram et Erichonium de lapide vel in terra de solo libidinis æstu esse generatos;" and Commodianus (*Liber Instructionum*), "Invictus de petra natus . . . . deus." At Carnuntum, in Pannonia, an inscription was found—PETRÆ GENETRICI. It has been supposed that the idea took its origin from the fact that fire was produced by means of flint; but this method of ignition was apparently, at least among Aryan peoples, a late usage. The real origin of the connexion of Mithra with rocks and mountains should be sought in cloudland.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Porphyrius, *de Antro Nympharum*, c. vi. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Das Mithræum von Kroisbach. Dr. F. Kenner (in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 119 seqq.)

<sup>d</sup> *Del Mitreo annesso alle terme Ostiensi di Antonino Pio*. C. Visconti (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 147 seqq.)

smaller altars occur on other Mithraic monuments; they represent the sevenfold nature of fire in the Magian religion.

Although in the present instance there was no trace of a cave, artificial or otherwise, I observed a natural fissure in the rock, below the Mithraic slab, and on clearing it as far as was feasible from the black earth which choked it up, found three small brass coins, one of Aurelian, one of Constantius Chlorus, and the third of Constantius II. From this it may be inferred that Mithraic worship went on at this spot during the third and the first half of the fourth century. Mithraic worship survived, in fact, to a considerably later date in Western Illyricum.

Near the village of Mocici, in the district of Canali, and about an hour distant from the site of Epitaurum, I found a more perfect Mithraic relief carved over the mouth of a limestone grotto known as "Tomina Jama," or "Tom's Hole" (fig. 7). The lower part of the grotto forms a natural basin containing a perennial supply of fresh water, which had been vaulted over to serve as a cistern for the villagers. Situated on a rugged range of hills, still to a great extent covered with a woodland growth of sea pines, cypresses, and myrtles, and its rocky brows overhung when I saw it with the azure festoons of ivy-leaved campanulas, the cavern seemed singularly appropriate for its religious purpose. In selecting such a natural temple the local votaries of Mithra were faithfully following the example of Zoroaster, who, we are told,\* when founding the worship in its later, established form, sought out a natural cave in the neighbouring Persian mountains, overgrown with flowers, and containing a fount within, which as the microcosm of the created world he consecrated to Mithra, the *Demiurge* or Father of all.

The relief itself gives the conventional representation of Mithra sacrificing the generative Bull of Persian cosmogony, by which, according to this belief, he was to give a new and spiritual life to all created beings, and the typical sacrifice of which at the hands of his votaries brought them Regeneration unto Eternal Life.<sup>a</sup> From below, as is usual on these Mithraic groups, the scorpion, snake,

\* "Πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς εἶπεν Εὐβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ἔρεισι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθρῶν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιρρῶσαντος εἰς τὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου εἰκόνα φέροντας αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου δὲ Μίθρας ἰδημοόργησε." Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*, c. vi.

<sup>a</sup> In the Mithraic mysteries the initiated died fictitiously in order to be born again by the symbolic sacrifice of a bull. TAVROBOLIO IN AETERNVM RENATVS occurs on a monument of a Mithraic votary in C. I. L. vi. 510. Darmesteter (*Ormuzd et Ahriman*, p. 329) observes that Mithra has usurped the part





and dog, animals supposed to be specially connected with generative power, dart forward to quaff the life-blood of the victim, while on either side stand the two

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Fig. 7. MITHRAIC RELIEF. TOMINA JAMA, CANALI.

ministering Genii, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, symbolical in ancient art of Day and Night, Grief and Joy, Life and Death ; but in the present connexion bearing a direct and undoubted reference to the descent of the soul to earth and its subsequent re-ascent to the heavenly spheres\* through the purifying grace of Mithra. In the two spandrils of the arch above these figures are seen the crescent moon, from which the human spirit was believed to descend, and the rayed sun, the gate of its return. Three of the seven mystic rays of the orb of light are seen to be prolonged in the present representation, as if to illuminate in a special way the bird which leans forward over the sacrificing divinity. This is

performed by Çaoshyant in the Mazdean religion, who according to the Bundelesh (75, 6) will give men an immortal body from the marrow of the immolated bull Hadhayaos.

\* The soul was thought to descend from the moon through the "gate" of Cancer, and to ascend again through the "gate" of Capricorn to the sun. Plato had learned this Magian doctrine (cf. Porphyrius, *op. cit.* c. xxx.) On their return to their celestial abode the spirits of men were thought to pass through the seven planets (answering to the seven Mithraic grades on earth), by which they were purified and rendered worthy to enter the fixed heaven, the dwelling-place of Ormuzd.

the Eorosh, the Celestial raven described as "speaking the language of heaven," and the symbol of Mithra as interpreter of the divine will. The projecting rays on the present monument may seem to have a special significance when it is remembered that one of the distinguishing epithets of the Mithraic raven in the *Zendavesta* is "irradiate with light."<sup>a</sup> Pray to him, we are told in another passage, and "he will shed much light, both before him and behind him."

The celestial raven, Hierocorax, among the Mithra worshippers of the Roman Empire, gave its name to an inferior grade of devotees, and to the rites connected with their initiation called *Coracica*. The grotto itself, and the rugged ranges that surround it, was admirably adapted for these Mithraic hermits and fakirs to be the scene of the successive trials through which they hoped to mortify the flesh and fit themselves for "the better life."<sup>b</sup> In some remarkable monuments<sup>c</sup> discovered in Transylvania and Tyrol, many of the self-inflicted tortures,—the scorching by fire, the bed of unrest, the flagellations and fasts,—are still to be seen depicted as they once were undergone by the predecessors of Simeon Stylites in these Illyrian wilds that were soon to rival Lérins and Iona as the retreat of Christian ascetics. The basin within the grotto supplied in this instance a natural font for the Mithraic rite, alluded to by Tertullian,<sup>d</sup> of baptism for the remission of sins.

From the site of Epitaurum itself I have obtained an engraved stone, such as, apparently, was given to those who, after the due period of fasting and mortification of the flesh, were admitted to share the Mithraic Eucharist.<sup>e</sup> It is a white

<sup>a</sup> In Lajarde's translation of the passages in the *Zendavesta* referring to the Eorosh: "Éclatante de lumière" (*Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, p. 355.) The elongation of the sun's rays is observable on another Mithraic monument, found at Rome in the Via di Borgo S. Agata (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 177). In this case a ray is made to shoot through a sacred cypress towards Mithra.

<sup>b</sup> *Βίον τὸν κρείττονα*—the words used by Himerius the Sophist (*Orat.* vii. 9) in describing the state of the initiated.

<sup>c</sup> See Hammer (*Les Mithriaques*, Pl. V. VI. VII.), and cf. Greg. Nazianz, *Orat.* 3, who describes several of the tortures.

<sup>d</sup> *De Præscriptionibus adv. hæreticos*, c. xl. "(Diabolus) ipsas res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos. Expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit."

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Augustine (*in Johannis Evangelium*, Tract. vii.): "Et magnum est hoc spectare per totum orbem terrarum victum Leonem sanguine Agni . . . ergo nescio quid simile imitatus est quidam Spiritus ut sanguine simulacrum suum emi vellet quia noverat pretioso sanguine quandocumque redimendum esse genus humanum." The *Spiritus quidam* is Mithra, as appears from the succeeding paragraph, in which the Christian Father alludes to the honey mixed with the sacramental water of the Persian rite: King's







carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, containing a singularly rude representation of a figure sacrificing the Mithraic bull before a lighted altar, above which are the crescent moon and rayed sun (fig. 8). The absence of the characteristic Phrygian cap and flowing mantle in the sacrificing figure makes me hesitate to suppose that it is actually Mithra himself who is here depicted. The two ministering Genii, and the scorpion and other animals representing the generative principle, are also conspicuous by their absence. It might have been thought that in any design, however barbarous, of the Mithraic sacrifice, these characteristic features would not have been omitted. Or, have we here, perhaps, simply the representation of the actual liturgic sacrifice performed by the Mithraic priest? So far as the vestment is delineated at all it seems to be simply a short-sleeved tunic or dalmatic. The style of the head would indicate a post-Constantinian age.



Fig. 8.  
MITHRAIC GEM.  
From site of Epitaurum.  
(Enlarged two diameters.)

Another class of gem, discovered on this and other Dalmatian sites, engraved with the Mithraic lion, characterised by its peculiar radiated mane, may not improbably have been the badge of the high Mithraic grade known as Leontes or Lions, and whose special ritual was called from them *Leontica*.

In this connexion I cannot pass over another engraved stone which appears to me to be intimately connected with Mithraic symbolism (fig. 9).

It is a red carnelian, acquired by me at Scardona, on this same coast, presenting a figure of what, judging by other somewhat conventional designs, is intended for a bee, from whose mouth, in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a caduceus.

Now, from two passages in Porphyry, *de Antro Nympharum*,<sup>a</sup> it appears that the bee, amongst the worshippers of Mithra, was the special emblem of the soul. As bees, according to the ancient idea, were generated by bulls' carcasses,<sup>b</sup> so bees, representing the vital

Fig. 9.  
MITHRAIC GEM.  
From Scardona.  
(Enlarged two diameters.)

inference (*Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 61), that by the *simulacrum* given to the initiated is betokened an engraved Mithraic gem, affords a reasonable explanation of the passage. It would even seem from St. Augustine's words that he had in view a representation such as the present one of a Mithraic sacrifice, which result gives special point to his parallel. Even as "the Lamb" slays "the roaring Lion," the Devil, so the false Spirit, "the Capped One," is represented by his worshippers as slaying the Bull, which, according to their creed, was to herald the resurrection.

<sup>a</sup> C. xv. and c. xviii.

<sup>b</sup> "ἄς (sc. μέλισσας) βοσγενεῖς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. v. 554:

principle, sprang from the Cosmic bull of Persian mythology. So, too, no fitter emblem could be found for the spirits of men that swarmed forth, according to this creed, from the horned luminary of the heavens, the Moon, their primal dwelling-place, to migrate awhile for their earthly pilgrimage below. In this way the Moon itself was sometimes known, in the language of the mysts, as "the bee,"<sup>a</sup> and it is noteworthy that the bee appears on the coinage of Ephesus, the special city of the Asiatic Moon-Goddess. The line of Sophocles—

βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμήνος, ἔρχεται τ' ἄλγ,<sup>b</sup>

may be taken as evidence that the identification of bees with spirits had early invaded Greek folk-lore. Everything seems to point to a Persian origin for the idea, at least in its elaborated form, and had Eubulus's copious history of Mithra been preserved we should doubtless find that it entered largely into the Magian philosophy. On the Roman monuments of the sect a bee is sometimes seen in the mouth of the Mithraic lion,<sup>c</sup> as the emblem of the soul—*βουγενής* like to insect—and, connected with this symbolism, was the practice of mixing honey in the eucharistic chalice, and the singular rite performed by the *Leontes* or Lion priests of Mithra,<sup>d</sup> of purifying their hands with honey in place of lustral water. From all this it will be seen that the present conjunction of the bee and the well-known symbol of Mercury, the shepherd of departed souls, has a deep mystic significance. In the hands of one of the ministering Genii, symbolising the ascending soul, on a Mithraic monument, Von Hammer<sup>e</sup> detected

"Hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum  
Aspiciunt liquefacta boum per viscera toto  
Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis."

It is to be observed that this portent is obtained by sacrifices offered to the shades of Orpheus and Eurydice; an indication that Virgil was conscious of a mystic connexion between bees, the Magian bull, and the spirit-world.

<sup>a</sup> "σελήνην τε οὖσαν γινώσκεις προστάτιδα μίλισσαν ἱκάλουν, ἄλλως τε ἵππαι ταύρον μὲν σελήνη, καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης δὲ ταύρος, βουγενεῖς δὲ αἱ μίλισσαι." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xviii. An allusion to the same idea will be found on a very interesting engraving on a gold ring from Kertch (in the Siemens Collection) representing a bee above a full-faced bust of *Deus Lunus*.

<sup>b</sup> *Fragmenta* (Dindorf. 698). Quoted by Porphyrius, *op. cit.* in this connexion. Bergk emends the *ἔρχεται τ' ἄλγ* of Porphyrius, as above.

<sup>c</sup> As for instance on one engraved by Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, Oxonii. 1700, tab. I.

<sup>d</sup> Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv.

<sup>e</sup> *Les Mithriaques*, p. 252.





a wand, described by him as resembling that of Mercury; from which it may be inferred that the caduceus was by no means alien to the later Mithraic iconography.

It is impossible to close this account of the traces of Mithra worship existing on the site and in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum without recalling a sepulchral inscription described as existing here by Aldus Manutius and the early Ragusan antiquaries,\* the spiritualism of which bears striking witness to the triumph of Oriental religious ideas in the Roman city :

CONVBII · DECVS · EGBEGIVM · LVX · ALMA · PARENTVM  
EXIMIVMQ · BONVM · CORPORIS · ATQ · ANIMI  
INVIDIA · FATI · RAPITVR · VINCENTIA · FLORENS  
ET · NVNC · ANTE · PATREM · CONDITVR · HELIONEM  
QVIN · POTIVS · CORPVS · NAM · MENS · AETERNA · PROPECTO  
PRO · MERITIS · POTITVR · SEDIBVS · ELYSIIS.

The belief in the immortality of the soul, in the reward of the righteous and the incorporeal resurrection, set forth in this epitaph, are among the characteristic features of the Mithraic creed, and its language suggests comparisons with such formulæ as "MENTIS DIVINÆ DVCTV" and "IN AETERNVM RENATVS," of known Mithraic monuments. The imagery of Elysium, as portrayed by Virgil (not untouched himself by Persian influences),<sup>b</sup> had certainly much in common with the starry paradise of these children of "the Unconquered Sun :"

Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit  
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.<sup>c</sup>

Among the smaller relics found amongst the ruins of Epitaurum, the engraved gems, of which this and the other Roman sites of the Dalmatian littoral are astonishingly prolific, are by far the most interesting. At least a hundred of these from this spot have come under my personal observation, and in such abundance are they discovered in a field near the point of the Epitaurian peninsula that we are perhaps justified in inferring that a jewellers' quarter of the city lay on that side. As I propose to take a more collective view of the gems

\* Given in C. I. L. iii. 1759. I have been unable to find any trace of its present existence.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 23, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Æn.* vi. 640.

discovered on the Dalmatian sites, I shall here content myself with calling attention to one which, like the Æsculapian and Mithraic stones already mentioned, seems to have a special local interest. In the *Reliquiario* of the Cathedral at Ragusa I noticed a ring, a peasant offering to the Madonna, set with a carnelian intaglio, which, from the character of the subject and the workmanship, must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century of our era (fig. 10). It represents an Emperor on

horseback, robed in the *paludamentum* or military mantle, facing the spectator, and with both hands raised in the attitude of adoration common in figures of saints and martyrs in the catacombs, and in Byzantine representations of the *Theotokos*. Above, on either side of the riding figure, are two crosses, and in the exergue below are the crescent moon and star, the emblems of Byzantium. There can be little doubt that it is intended to represent the Vision of Constantine, on the eve of his crowning victory over Maxentius:

Fig. 10.  
ROMAN CHRISTIAN  
GEM—EPITAUROM.  
(Enlarged two diams.)

Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor  
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.\*

The appearance of *two* crosses in the design suggests some variation from the recorded versions of the Vision, but the moon and star below sufficiently connect the adoring figure with the founder of New Rome. The only existing contemporary monuments directly referring to the alleged miracle hitherto known are the coins of Constantius II. and the Mœsian usurper Vetranio, both from Illyrian mints, and dating from the year 350,<sup>b</sup> on which these Emperors are severally depicted holding the Labarum standard and surrounded with the legend *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS*. The present gem supplies an actual representation of the celestial Vision, hitherto, so far as I am aware, entirely unknown on early Christian monuments.

\* Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* i. 467.

<sup>b</sup> In the case of Constantius possibly also of 351. As Vetranio was deposed in January of that year the design can have nothing to do with the appearance of a cross in the heavens recorded four months later in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* and in a letter of Cyril, both which authorities fix the date of the meteor, or whatever it was, on May 7, 351. Still less can it have any reference to the Vision of Constantius, which, according to Philostorgius, took place on the eve of the battle of Mursa, in September or October 351.







A silver ring obtained by me from the same Epitaurian site (fig. 11) proved to be a Roman-Christian relic of probably still later date than the gem in the *Reliquiario*. Its bezel contains an incised monogram, which, like many similar monograms of the fifth and sixth centuries, is difficult to decipher, and has besides been cut about by a later hand. On the exterior of the ring, in late letters inlaid in darker metal or niello in the silver, is the inscription, curiously inverted, VIVA IN VIVA, apparently standing for VIVAS IN VITA.



Fig. 11.  
ROMAN CHRISTIAN  
RING—EPITAEURUM.

These two Roman Christian relics, with some Byzantine coins—including an aureus of Phokas—are the latest Epitaurian antiquities that I have been able to discover. The statement, repeated by the latest writer on Dalmatian history,\* that Epitaurum was destroyed by the Goths in 265 A.D. and its successor, Ragusa, founded shortly afterwards by the surviving citizens, rests on no authority whatever, and is wholly at variance with recorded facts. St. Hilarion, as we have seen, wrought his miracles at Epitaurum in Julian's reign, about a century later, and St. Jerome—Illyrian-born—took down the local tradition of the Saint's mighty works, apparently from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, in the first quarter of the fifth century.

Equally impossible is it to accept the statement (probably due to an error of transcription) made by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>b</sup> who observes of the year 949—in which he wrote his account of the Dalmatian Theme—that it is the fifth centenary of the founding of Ragusa, built, as he tells us, by refugee citizens from the overthrow of Salonæ and Epitaurum. There is no evidence that Attila destroyed, or even approached, these cities. The Dinaric Alps seem, in fact, to have been as useful in shielding the Dalmatian coast-cities from the Hunnish cavalry as they were nearly a thousand years later in breaking the fury of the Tartar invasion; and at a time when Siscia and Sirmium lay in ruins Salonæ and

\* H. Cons. *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie* (Paris 1882, p. 285): "Les Goths avaient encore fait irruption au-delà du Danube, pénétré de nouveau jusqu'à l'Adriatique et détruit la Colonie d'Epidaure (Ragusa Vecchia, 265). Les habitants de cette malheureuse ville se réfugièrent au fond de la baie cachée où bientôt s'éleva Raguse." Now, although the Eastern provinces of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, suffered fearfully at this time, there is no mention of Dalmatia being invaded, much less of Epitaurum having been destroyed.

<sup>b</sup> *De Adm. Imp.* c. 29: "Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤνικα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν δυτικῶν ἐν τῇ θίματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν οἱ δὲ ἤχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ θνηθίντες ἐφυγῶν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμους τόπους κατέφυγον . . . . ἂψ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ Σαλώνα μετέφεραν εἰς Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἐνδιαιτῶνος ἰβδόμης ἴσους συνελ.".

Epitaurum were still flourishing. In 536, during Justinian's Gothic war,\* we find the Byzantine commander making Epitaurum—still, as is to be gathered from Procopius's words, a city of some importance—a preliminary base for his descent on Salonæ. Six years previous to this, in the provincial council of Salonæ of 530,<sup>b</sup> Fabricianus, bishop of Epitaurum, was the fourth in order to attach his signature.

Still later, in 591, the bishop of Salonæ appears exercising his metropolitan authority to deprive and exile Florentius, bishop of Epitaurum, in a fashion so uncanonical as to provoke a remonstrance from Gregory the Great.<sup>c</sup> Seven years later Florentius is still in exile, and Gregory, stirred by a renewed appeal from "the inhabitants of the city of Epitaurum," again urges on his brother of Salonæ the necessity of bringing the matter to a canonical issue.

Whether he attained his object we are not told, but this letter of 598<sup>d</sup> is the last mention of Epitaurum as a city. The "*Sancta Epitauritana Ecclesia*,"<sup>e</sup> to whose spiritual head, Pope Zacharias,<sup>f</sup> in 743, concedes an extended charge over the southernmost Dalmatian cities, and the, by that time, Serbian and Zachulmian lands of the interior, can hardly be more than an ecclesiastical anachronism, and must refer to the church of Ragusa which claimed Epitaurum as its ancient self. In the first year of the seventh century, Gregory sends the bishop of Salonæ the expression of his vehement affliction for what Dalmatia and its border lands were already suffering from the Slavonic hordes.<sup>g</sup> From another of his letters, written

\* Procopius, *de bello Gothico*, lib. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 163. The bishop of Epitaurum signs next to the bishop of Siscia, what Attila had left of that once great city being now in ecclesiastical subjection to Salonæ.

<sup>c</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. vi. p. 4 *seqq.*

<sup>d</sup> Gregorius Sabiniano Episcopo Jadertino (in Farlati, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 269) *ad fin.* :—*Præterea habitatores Epidaurensis Civitatis Florentium quem suum dicunt esse Episcopum sibi a nobis restituendum studiosissime poposcerunt.*"

<sup>e</sup> In the same way after the destruction of Salonæ, the church of Spalato was still known as "*Sancta Salonitana Ecclesia*."

<sup>f</sup> This important letter, formerly in the Ragusan archives, begins "Dilecto in Christo filio Andree archiepiscopo Sancte Epitauritane ecclesie. Constituimus te omnibus diebus vite tue esse pastorem te et successores tuos super istam provinciam. Imprimis Zachulmie regno et regno Servulie, Tribunieque regno. —Civitati namque Catarensi seu Rosa atque Buduanensi, Avarorum (Antivarorum?), Liciniatensi (Ulciniatensi), atque Scodrinensi, nec non Drivastinensi atque Polatensi cum ecclesiis atque parochiis eorum." Owing to the insertion of the Archiepiscopal title doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of this letter. It is, however, accepted by Kukuljević, who gives it in the *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae*, &c. p. 35.

<sup>g</sup> Gregorius Maximo episcopo Salonitano . . . "Et quidem de Sclavorum gente quæ vobis valde





about the same time, we learn that Lissus—in the language of the times the *Civitas Lissitana*—the present Alessio, on the Dalmatian coast south of Epitaurum, was already in Slavonic hands, and its bishop an exile.<sup>a</sup> Salonæ, itself, seems to have been overwhelmed in the great Avar-Slave invasion of 639. Epitaurum, at the most, could not long have survived the fall of the greater city. It is, perhaps, something more than a coincidence that 649, the year in which Pope Martin dispatched his legate to Dalmatia for the redeeming of captives and the rescuing of the sacred relics from the hands of the heathen Slaves,<sup>b</sup> attained its tercentary in the year 949, mentioned by Constantine as the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of Ragusa by the refugee citizens of Epitaurum and Salonæ. If we may suppose that the Φ, representing 500 in the original MS. of Constantine, or in some MS. notes from which the Emperor copied, has been accidentally substituted for a T=300, his notice may conceal a genuine historical date.

The mainland behind the peninsular site of Epitaurum, and, in a certain sense, the whole region between it and the next sea-gulf to the South-East, the Bocche di Cattaro, derives its name, Canali, from the artificial *canal* of the Roman Aqueduct already described which traversed a great part of its extent. It is, indeed, remarkable that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in whose valuable account of tenth century Dalmatian geography the name Canali first occurs, should have assigned to it a different derivation<sup>c</sup> from the sufficiently obvious one of Canalis in its sense of a watercourse, and his remarks on the origin of the name have been hitherto placed in the same category with his suggested derivation for the Dalmatian city of Jadera, “jam erat.” But the etymology of the Byzantine Emperor is by no means always of this fantastic kind,<sup>d</sup> and in the

imminet affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his quæ jam in vobis patior; conturbor quia per Istris aditum jam Italiam intrare cœperunt.”

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, *Collectio Concil.* t. ix. Gregory appoints the refugee bishop to the bishopric of Squillace. Should, however, his own city be liberated at any time from the enemy he is to return to it.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iii. p. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Šafarik for example (*Slawische Alterthümer*, ii. 271) imagines Constantine's derivation of Canali to have been founded on some blundering reminiscence of “Kolnich,” which appears as the Slavonic equivalent of *Via Carri* in a document of the year 1194 referred to by Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, lib. vi.)

<sup>d</sup> His explanation for instance of the name of the neighbouring old Serbian district of Zachulmia, “ἐπίση τοῦ βορροῦ” is a perfectly correct piece of Slavonic etymology. Equally exact is his rendering of the Croatian *Primorje* by “ἡ Παραθαλασσία.” His derivation for the river-name *Bona* contrasts favourably with Šafarik's.

present instance he had more warrant for his suggested explanation than may at first sight appear. Constantine, whose Dalmatian topography is singularly accurate, after mentioning the Serbian district of Terbunia, observes that beyond this is another district called Canali. "Now Canali," he continues, "in the Slavonic dialect means a wagon-road, since from the level nature of the spot all transport service is accomplished by means of wagons."<sup>a</sup> If we now turn to the Theodosian Code we find that the word *canalis* is used there in the sense of a highway or post-road. In the law on the public posts promulgated by Constantius II. a special provision is made against the abuse of wealthy or powerful citizens requisitioning the pack animals<sup>b</sup> (post-horses), reserved for the public service of the province, to convey the marble required for their palaces along the *canalis* or highway. In the law regulating the functions of the *Curiosi*, or imperial post-inspectors, the *canales* are spoken of in the sense of the post-roads along which wheeled traffic of all kinds was conducted.<sup>c</sup> In the Acts of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347) the word occurs in the same sense, and in this case has special reference to the great postal and military highway across Illyricum from the borders of Italy to Constantinople. Gaudentius,<sup>d</sup> bishop of Naissus, in Dacia Mediterranea, a city which derived its importance from its position on what was then the main line of communication between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire, proposes a canon specially affecting bishops, who, like himself, are on the *canalis* (in its Greek form *κανάλιον*) or highway; and Athanasius in his *Apologia* alludes in a similar manner to the bishops on the *kanalion* of Italy.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "Τὸ δὲ Καναλὴ ἰερμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σελάβων διαλέκτῳ ἀμαξία, ἐπιτιθῆ, διὰ το εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐπίπεδον, πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς δουλείας διὰ ἀμαξῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν." *De Adm. Imp.* c. 34.

<sup>b</sup> *De Cursu Publico*, xv. "Mancipium, cursus publici dispositio Proconsulis formâ teneatur. Neque tamen sit cujusquam tam insignis audacia qui parangarias aut paraveredos ad canalem audeat commovere quominus marmora privatorum vehiculis provincialium transferantur." Du Cange (*s.v. Canalis*) interprets this to mean that pack-horses, &c. destined for lanes and bye-ways are not to block the highway, but agrees in the important point that *canalis* = *via publica*.

<sup>c</sup> *De Curiosis*, ii. "Quippe sufficit duos (sc. agentes in rebus) tantummodo curas gerere et cursum publicum gubernare ut licet in canalibus publicis hæc necessitas explicetur." (Law of Constantius and Julian, 347 A.D.) Gothofred (ad loc.) observes, "Illud satis constat hic non pertinere ad aquarum seu fluminum canales, quandoquidem in his rhedæ, birotum, veredi, clabulæ, moveri dicuntur."

<sup>d</sup> Gaudentius (*Conc. Sardic.* can. 20) speaks of "ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρόδοις ἤτοι κανάλιῳ καθιστώτων." In the Latin translation (Mansi, t. iii, p. 22): "Qui sumus prope vias publicas seu canales." Ducange supposes that the word *canalis* in a charter of A.D. 1000, published by Ughellus (*Episcopi Bergamenses*), has the same meaning of "*via publica*."

<sup>e</sup> *Apol.* i. 340, οἱ ἐν τῇ κανάλιῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας.







Whatever associations, however, the word *canalis* had in the mouth of a Byzantine, the natives of Canali itself seem to have derived this name for their district from the Roman Aqueduct.\* The word, indeed, as used in this sense, passed from the Illyro-Roman inhabitants to the Slav-speaking occupants of a later date, and, when the new aqueduct connecting Ragusa with a mountain source in another direction was built in the fifteenth century, it, too, was known by a Slavonized form of the Roman *Canalis*.<sup>b</sup> The district of Canali itself had by Constantine's time become the Serbian *Župa Konavalska*, otherwise *Konavli*, but the parallel preservation of the word in its Roman form, which his record attests, is of interest as corroborating what we know from other sources as to the considerable survival of the Illyro-Roman element throughout this whole region.

Politically the country outside the limits of the still Roman coast-towns was by Constantine's time in the hands of Slavonic Župans, but side by side with the dominant race the older inhabitants of the land continued to inhabit the Dinaric glens and Alpine pastures. The relics of the Roman provincials who survived the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum were divided, in Dalmatia at all events, into two distinct classes, the citizens of the coast-towns, who retained their municipal and ecclesiastical institutions and something of Roman civilization under the ægis of Byzantium, and the Alpine population of the interior, the descendants for the most part of Romanized Illyrian clansmen recruited by the expropriated coloni of the municipia, or at least that part of them who had been forced to give up fixed agricultural pursuits for a semi-nomad pastoral life. Both classes spoke the Latin language, approaching, in various stages of degradation, the Romance variety still spoken by the Rouman population of parts of Macedonia and the Danubian provinces; and both were indiscriminately spoken of by their Slavonic neighbours as Vlachs, or Mavrovlachs: Romans, or Black Romans.<sup>c</sup>

\* In Serbian it often appears in the plural form, *konavle* = the channels, showing that the name took in the lateral system of irrigation which ramified across the plain from the main Aqueduct. The plain of Canali is still (as has already been noticed) one of the best irrigated regions in Dalmatia—the inhabitants having in this respect inherited their Roman traditions.

<sup>b</sup> Konô (*i. e.* konol).

<sup>c</sup> The earliest Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who wrote about the year 1150, expressly identifies this Rouman population with the descendants of the Roman provincials of Illyricum. After mentioning the conquest of Macedonia by the Bulgarians under their Khagan he continues: "post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est nigri Latini, vocantur." *Regnum Slavorum*, 4.

Ragusa\*—the new Epitaurum—was in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus still a Roman city, and though in the course of the succeeding centuries Ragusa became a Slav-speaking community there are still interesting traces of her older Illyro-Roman speech to be found in the later dialect,<sup>b</sup> while the names of many of the surrounding villages clearly indicate a Neo-Latin origin. The name Cavtat (in its earlier form Capëtatë) still applied by the present Slav-speaking population of the neighbourhood to the town that occupies the Epitaurian site is, as we have seen, simply a Rouman *Civitate*, to be compared with the Wallachian *Cetate* or *Citat*, and the Albanian *Giutet* or *Kiutet*. Molonta, Vitaljina, and other Canalese villages, still present us with non-Slavonic name-forms,<sup>c</sup> and there is documentary evidence that as late as the fifteenth century the shepherds who pastured their herds on the mountains of Upper Canali were still Rouman or Wallachian.<sup>d</sup>

\* The materials relating to the Rouman population of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, &c. existing in the archives of Ragusa have been collected by Dr Const. Jireček in his paper entitled *Die Wlachen und Maurovlachen in den Denkmälern von Ragusa*. (*Sitzungsberichte der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1879).

<sup>b</sup> e. g. *Dókes* = *decessus* (of the tide), *rekesa* = *recessus*, *plaker* = *placere*, *lukjérnar* = *lucernarius*. (Prof. Luko Zore, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku*. (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.) (*Dubrovnik*, iii. 1871.) The preservation of the *k* sound of the Latin *c* is also a characteristic of the Latin forms contained in Albanian. The discovery of a Roman-Christian glass bowl of sixth-century date among the ruins of Doklea (Dukle in Montenegro), presenting inscriptions in the local dialect, shows that this guttural survival was an early peculiarity of the Romance dialect of this part of Illyricum. On the Doclean vase under the figure of Jonah and the whale occurs the line "*Diunan de rentre queti liberatus est*," where the "*queti*" for "*ceti*" is, as the Comm. di Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1877, p. 77) points out, not a mere barbarism but an archaistic survival carrying us back to the "*ognottod*" for "*occulto*," "*quom*" for "*cum*," &c. of the S. C. de Bacchanalibus. On a Dalmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2046) *QVELIX* occurs for *COELIÆ*. In the matter of the survival of the *k* sound of the *c* Dalmatia showed itself more conservative than the West. The epigrammatic address of Ausonius to Venus,

"Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita coelo"

loses its alliterative point unless the *coelo* be pronounced as beginning with a sibilant: and the natural inference is that in fifth-century Gaul the guttural sound of the Roman *c* had been already softened down.

<sup>c</sup> E. g. Vergatto (Sl. Brgat), mediæval Vergatum, from Latin *Virgetum*; Zonchetto, Latin *Junchetum*; Rogiatto (Sl. Rožat) = *Rosetum*; Delubie, on the bank of the Ombla, = *Diluvies*. (Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen*, &c. p. 8.) Montebirt, the name of a pine-clad height near Ragusa, seems to me to be a *Mons Viridis* (cf. *Brgat* for *Virgetum*), though the derivation from a combination of the Latin and Slavonic name for mountain—*brdo*—has been suggested by Professor Zore. In the latter case it would find a parallel in "Mungibel." The rocky promontory of Lave or Lavve on which the earliest city of Ragusa was built derives its name from a low Latin form *labes* = land-slip. Constantine Porph. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) gives it under the form λαῦ and makes it = *σπηλιός*.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen und Maurovlachen*, &c. p. 6.





Excavations made by Dr. Felix von Luschan and myself in the mediæval cemeteries of Canali have supplied craniological proofs of the existence here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a non-Slavonic race presenting apparently Illyrian and Albanian affinities. What is especially pertinent in this regard, a large number of the skulls on which this generalisation is based were obtained from a mediæval graveyard above the present village of Mrcine, known from old Ragusan records\* to have been a Vlach or Rouman centre as late as the fifteenth century. The name Mrcine itself, written *Marzine* according to the Ragusan orthography, appears to me to be of the highest interest. It is a characteristically Rouman word, and is found with its derivatives in the present Rouman lands north of the Danube under the form *Mrăcina* or *Mărăcină*, meaning the prickly thorn of Eastern Europe,<sup>b</sup> *Cratægus Oxyacantha*, the Slav *Drač*, with which indeed the rocks of Mrcine are covered. The Roumanian antiquary Hajdeu,<sup>c</sup> who notices its appearance as a Vlach surname in a chrysobull of the Serbian Emperor Dušan, which contains many references to the still existing Rouman population in the old Serbian regions, after pronouncing the word, justly enough, to be neither of Latin nor of Slavonic origin, expresses his opinion that it is probably derived from the old Dacian tongue. It would seem to be rather of Illyrian origin, for the modern word for blackthorn among the Albanians, the existing representatives of the Illyrian stock, is *Muris-zi*, in the plural *Muriza-te*.<sup>d</sup> The name Mrzine or Mrcine appears in this case to have been a Rouman equivalent for the old Slavonic name of the hilly district on whose borders it lies:—*Dračevica*, or the “Thorny Country,” from *drač*, *drača*, the Serb equivalent of the Wallachian *Mărăcina*.

The colossal stone blocks with their curious devices and ornamentation that cover the graves at Mrcine show that those who built them had considerable resources at their disposal.<sup>e</sup> In the Middle Ages indeed these descendants of the

\* *Libri Rogatorum*, 1427-32. The older name for Mrcine in the Ragusan records is Versigne. Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen*, &c. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> *E. g.* *Mărăcinip*, — a place overgrown with thorns; *Mărăcinosu*, — thorny.

<sup>c</sup> *Archiva istorica a Romaniei*, t. iii. Bucuresci, 1867. *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la anul, 1348, emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan*, &c.

<sup>d</sup> This etymology, if admitted, would be a strong argument against the exclusively Thracian origin of the Wallachians, which at present finds so much favour.

<sup>e</sup> Similar mediæval megalithic cemeteries, of which I hope to say something on another occasion, are scattered over a large part of what is now Herzegovina, Bosnia, Northern Montenegro, and certain districts of Dalmatia, and are common to both old Serbian and old Rouman districts. They are therefore not by themselves of ethnographical value. The inscriptions when found are always Serbian, and in Cyrillian

Illyro-Roman provincials were the carriers and drovers of the peninsula. In the Balkan interior they were the pilots of Ragusan commerce. Their wandering enterprise reopened ancient trade routes, and they seem not unfrequently to have availed themselves of old Roman road-lines known only to themselves. On the mediæval caravan route, leading from this Vlach station to the Trebinje Valley, is another station of the same kind, at present conspicuous only by its ancient sepulchres and monuments, but which still bears the distinctively Rouman name of *Turmente*. *Turma* was the name given by these mountaineers to their caravans, and I found that the word in this sense has not been wholly forgotten by their Slavonized successors.

The disappearance of the Roman-speaking element at Ragusa itself\* and in the regions around, was, as a variety of still-existing records shows, of a most gradual character. The Illyro-Roman inhabitants seem to have early discovered the necessity of acquiring the speech of the new settlers and conquerors by whom they were surrounded, and to whom in most cases they were politically subject. The result of this was that they passed through a bilingual stage, continuing to speak their own language among themselves, while able to converse in Slav with their neighbours, a condition of things almost universal on the borderlands of conflicting nationalities, and finding its parallel still in the Dalmatian coast-cities, though there the case is at present reversed, the citizens for the most part speaking Slav among themselves, while holding converse with outsiders in Italian. One result of this habit has been that throughout a large part of Dalmatia, and notably in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, we find a number of Neo-Latin or Illyro-Roman village names with an alternative Slavonic form<sup>b</sup> exactly translating their meaning; and finally, in many cases, as the inhabitants forgot even the domestic use of their native Rouman, the original Latin form has altogether passed away, leaving no trace of its existence beyond its Slavonic

characters; the "Vlachs" do not seem to have had a written language. A rich "Vlach," however, being bilingual, might put up an inscription in Serbian, which was to him the language of Church and State.

\* The Ragusans early found a more convenient Romance language in Italian. Nor is it necessary to suppose that they ever spoke a Rouman dialect in the sense that the Dalmatian highlanders spoke it. The correspondence between Ragusa and the other Dalmatian coast-cities, Cattaro, Budua, Antivari, &c. was conducted in Latin.

<sup>b</sup> This fact had already struck Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, lib. vi. Francofurti, 1666, p. 277), who instances "*Petra*" = Sl. "*Brus*"; "*Via Carri*" = Sl. "*Colnich*"; "*Circuitus*," = Sl. "*Zavod*"; "*Calamet*" = Sl. "*Tarstenick*." Cf. "*Cannosa*," near Ragusa, Sl. "*Trstenik*." In the same way Vlach personal names were early translated into Slavonic equivalents, so that in Ragusan records we hear again and again of "Vlachi" with Serbian names.







translation. This process has been, in all probability, of far more frequent occurrence in this part of Illyricum than can at present be known. It is only, for instance, by the chance that Constantine<sup>a</sup> refers to the earlier name of the place that we know that the name of the Herzegovinian stronghold of Blagaj is simply a translation of the Bona of formerly Romance-speaking mountaineers. Another curious revelation of the survival of ancient nomenclature in a Slavonic guise is due to the quite modern discovery of a Roman monument. In 1866 an inscription,<sup>b</sup> apparently of second or third-century date, was discovered in the Kerka Valley, revealing the ancient name of the rocky crest that there overhangs the stream, *Petra longa*. To the present inhabitants, who for centuries have spoken a Slavonic dialect, the crag is still known by its Roman name in a translated form, *Duga Stina*, "the long rock."

Physical types, distinctively un-Slavonic and presenting marked Albanian affinities (an Illyrian symptom), are still to be detected among the modern Canalese, Brenese, and Herzegovinian peasants, mingled with types as characteristically Slav. Their language, however, is at the present day a very pure Serbian dialect, and, taken by itself, affords us no clue to the fact, illustrated in this case by historical record, by craniological observations, and by the stray survival of local names, that their forefathers were as much or more Illyro-Roman than Slavonic. This interesting phenomenon, repeated in the case of many districts of Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro,<sup>c</sup> may throw a valuable light on similar

<sup>a</sup> *De Adm. Imp.* c. 33: "ἐν τῇ τοιούτῃ χωρίῳ βουνός ἵσται μέγας, ἔχων ἀνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τὸ Βόνα καὶ τὸ Χλούμ· ὁπισθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου βουνοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται καλόν." At present the castle on the peak is called Blagaj, the river which wells in full volume from its foot is still called Buna. This passage of Constantine affords valuable evidence of the existence in the tenth century of an Illyro-Roman population among the interior ranges of what is now Herzegovina. *Bona* is a characteristic Rouman name for good, clear, streams (cf. Sl. Dobrava, &c.), and re-appears in this sense in the North Albanian Alps, where the Val Bona indicates the former presence of Romance-speaking highlanders in a glen which so far as language is concerned is at present Albanian. In the same way we find forms like *Alp'bona* in the Ladine or Romance districts of Tyrol.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6418.

<sup>c</sup> The Ragusan records and old Serbian chrysobulls reveal a great extension of Rouman tribes in this part of Western Illyricum in the early Middle Ages. Amongst those in the present Herzegovina and Montenegro were the Vlachi Banjani, Nikšići, Mirilovići, Pilatovci, and the Rigiani in the mountains that overlook the ruins of Risinium. Their Alpine villages were called Cantons, in Slav. Katun, from whence the Katunska Nahia of Montenegro has its name. Like the Dokleates, the Illyrian tribe that once occupied a considerable part of the same mountain region, and of whom they were in part the Romanized descendants, they were great cheese-makers. The foundation charter of the church of St. Michael and St. Gabriel at Prizrend (1348) presents us with a number of Wallachian personal names with the Rouman suffix *-ul*, showing the Illyro-Roman survival in the ancient Dardanian province and its border-lands.

researches regarding Britain, the conquest of which by the English presents some striking analogies with the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum. It cuts, at all events, the ground from the feet of those who, because the people of England speak a language containing few Welsh or Romano-British elements, and can trace most of their institutions to a Teutonic origin, would have us therefore believe that the earlier inhabitants of a large part of Britain were either expatriated or exterminated wholesale. The inhabitants of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina, and Montenegro, are at present Serbian, not only in language but in customs, in popular traditions, in village and domestic government, and yet we have in this case irrefragable proofs that, down to a late period of the Middle Ages, a considerable proportion of them were still speaking an Illyrian variety of Romance.

Although enough has been said to explain Constantine Porphyrogenitus's derivation of the word Canali, it seems, as we have seen, to be tolerably certain that the local term owed its origin solely to the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct. The general accuracy, however, of Constantine's information as to Dalmatian matters, and the acquaintance which he shows with the prevailing physical characteristic of Canali itself, may embolden us to believe that when he seeks the etymology of the plain in the late Roman signification of *canalis* as a highway on which wheel-traffic was conducted, he may not have been without some apparent foundation for his statement. In Roman times, at all events, the district of Canali was a *canalis* in the sense in which the word is used in the Theodosian Code, and by the fourth-century Illyrian bishop. There can be no question but that the Roman road from Epitaurum to the next great Illyrian city to the south, Risinium, ran through the present Vale of Canali, emerging on the Bocche, the ancient Sinus Rhizonicus, through the Sutturina gorge, in the neighbourhood of Castelnuovo.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, so fertile in difficulties for this part of Dalmatia, makes the distance from Epitaurum to "Resinum" only twenty miles, about half the real distance. The idea that Epitaurum itself was ever situate on the Sinus Rhizonicus, and therefore nearer Risinium, I have already scouted. It only remains, therefore, to imagine either that a numerical error here occurs in the *Tabula* or that an intermediate station has been left out. Professor Tomaschek\* accepts this latter theory, and imagines Castelnuovo to have been the site of the omitted station.

Local researches had long convinced me that a Roman station of some importance existed between Epitaurum and Risinium. Its site, however, was

\* *Die vorlawische Topographie*, &c. p. 87.





not Castelnuovo, where, so far as I am aware, no Roman remains have been discovered. Near the village of Gruda, about the centre of the plain of Canali, have been found Roman coins, *intagli*, fragments of pottery, and other relics; and it is a common saying among the Canalese peasants that there once existed a city at this spot. The locality where these remains are found is known to the natives as Djare, from *djara*, a jar, owing to the *amphoræ* and other vessels discovered here. A little to the east of Djare rises an isolated height capped by the small church of Sveti Ivan (St. John), a sanctuary, as the early mediæval monuments round it show, of considerable antiquity. Visiting this spot, in company with my friend Dr. von Luschan, I had the good fortune to discover, walled into the church porch and partially concealed by plaster, a Roman inscription, which, when cleared of mortar and cement, read as follows (fig. 12):



Fig 12. SVETI IVAN, CANALI, from probable site of Roman Municipium between Epitaurum and Risinium.

D                    M  
 Q FVLVIO / *Filio*  
 II VIR *Iure Dicundo*  
 ET TAVRAE MAXI  
 MAE VXSORI EIVS  
 TAVRVS MAXIMVS  
 ET FRATRES *Titulum Posuere*

Taken by itself the mention of a Duumvir Jure Dicundo, the chief municipal magistrate, on this monument raises a fair presumption that the Roman station at this spot was itself a *Municipium*, and not a mere *Vicus* of the Ager Epitauritanus. On the other hand, the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct, across the whole extent of the plain of Canali, in the midst of which Djare and Svéti Ivan lie, certainly tends to show, as was pointed out long ago by the Ragusan historian Cervarius Tubero, that, originally at least, Canali was comprised in the territory of Epitaurum. It is to be observed that the name of a Q. Fulvius Clemens occurs among the tituli found at Ragusa Vecchia.\*

Be this as it may, it is certain that there was a considerable Roman station in this vicinity; and the position is itself admirably adapted for a half-way post between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf. Opposite the isolated height of Svéti Ivan, on which the inscription stands, opens a pass in the mountains dividing the huge mass of Mount Sniesnica on one side from the offshoots of Mount Orien on the other. It is at the opening of this pass that the village of Mrcine is situate, already mentioned as an important Rouman centre in the Middle Ages, and above which was the ancient cemetery, also, in all probability, belonging to these descendants of the Illyro-Roman provincials. It is certain that the pass itself, which served these later representatives of Rome for their caravan traffic with the inland countries between the Adriatic and the Drina, would not have been neglected by the Romans themselves as an avenue of communication. The remains of a paved mediæval way may still be traced threading the gorge, and we have here, perhaps, the direct successor of a Roman branch line of road connecting the station, which appears to have existed at Svéti Ivan, with another Roman station, of which I hope to say more, in the valley of Trebinje.

On the other hand, there are distinct indications that Svéti Ivan lay on the direct Roman road between Epitaurum and Risinium. The old Ragusan road

\* C. I. L. iii. 1739.







through Canali to the Bocche di Cattaro ran past this position, and the old bridge over the Ljuta lies just below it. What, too, is extremely significant, a long line of hedges and ancient boundary lines, that originally bisected the plain, runs from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards this point. Any one who has endeavoured to trace Roman roads in Britain must be aware how often, when other traces fail, the continuous hedge lines preserve the course of the ancient Way.

The distance from Djare and Svéti Ivan to Risinium is as nearly as possible twenty miles. It is, therefore, not impossible that at this point was the station *ex hypothesi* omitted in the *Tabula*. It is probable, as I hope to show in a succeeding paper, that this was also a point of junction between the road Epitaurum-Risinium and a line communicating with the interior of the Province.

From this point the way to the Bocche runs down the Suttarina Valley, reaching the Adriatic inlet near Castelnovo. After following the coast for some miles, the road would again strike inland, over the Bunović Pass, which forms the shortest line of communication with the inner gulf on which Risinium stood. From this point the course of the Roman road is no longer a matter for theory. Between Morinje and the western suburb of the little town of Risano that preserves the name of the Roman city its course can be distinctly traced along the limestone steep that here overhangs the sea.

The site and early history of Rhizon, or Risinium, form a marked contrast to that of Epitaurum, as, indeed, to most of the Græco-Roman sites on the Dalmatian shore. Here there is neither peninsula nor island: no natural bridge nor moat to secure the civilized colonist from the barbarism of the mainland. The peak which formed the Acropolis of Rhizon is but a lower offshoot of the greater ranges beyond. An Alpine pass, communicating with highland fastnesses as rugged and inaccessible as any to be found within the limits of Illyricum, zigzags directly into the lower town. Thus the early history of Rhizon is neither Greek nor Roman, but pre-eminently Illyrian.

In 229 B.C. Teuta, the Illyrian Pirate Queen, defeated by the Romans, took refuge at Rhizon, as her securest stronghold. From the expression of Polybios<sup>a</sup> that Rhizon was "a small city, strongly fortified, removed from the sea, but lying directly on the River Rhizon," some writers, including Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,<sup>b</sup> have endeavoured to discover its site somewhere in the mountains of

<sup>a</sup> "Πολισμάτιον εὖ πρὸς ὀχυρότητα κατασκευασμένον, ἀναπχωρητὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ κείμενον τῇ ῥέκωνι ποταμῷ." *Polybios*, ii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> *Dalmatia*, vol. ii. p. 284.

the interior. As, however, I have elsewhere shown,\* there can be no doubt that the Rhizon of Queen Teuta is identical in site as well as in name with the later Roman colony, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, the present Bocche di Cattaro, and which still prolongs its continuity in the little town of Risano. The Rhizon Potamos of Polybios is used, in fact, as a general term for the winding, river-like fiord itself, otherwise known to ancient poets as the "Illyrian river," the chosen lurking-place of piratic craft. In its narrower local application it may be taken to signify the small torrent, the *Fiumara*, which bursts from a cave in the mountains, about half-a-mile from the head of the fiord. The name Risano, applied to two similar torrents on the East Adriatic coast, one in Istria, near Trieste, the other near Durazzo, leads us to infer that Rhizon or Risinium was an aboriginal Illyrian river-name, which, in the present case, attached itself to the town past which the torrent ran.

The remains of the old street terraces are distinctly traceable on the flanks of the peak that dominates the right bank of the torrent. It is evident that this was the ancient Acropolis, the chosen stronghold of Queen Teuta, but I have been unable to discover any remains of primeval walls, such as are to be seen on the more southern Illyrian peak stronghold of Acrolissos (Alessio). The lower town lay unquestionably on the level space between the Acropolis and the shore, to the right of the torrent. Here I have at different times excavated the foundations of houses and narrow streets lying at a depth of about ten feet beneath the present surface. I was not so fortunate, however, as to hit on the remains of any remarkable building. Foundations may also be seen, as at Ragusa Vecchia, beneath the sea, proving a slight submergence of the land within the historic period. The most important architectural relic is the remains of the eastern city-wall, to be seen in places overhanging the right bank of the torrent, which must have washed this wall of the city almost throughout its length.

The remaining fragments of this wall, built of huge oblong blocks, recall the long walls connecting Salonæ with its Piræus, a work dating in all probability from the period preceding the actual conquest, though executed under Græco-Roman influences. It is remarkable that epigraphic evidence exists, showing that, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitants of Risinium traced back the antiquity of their walls to heroic times. At Lambæesè, in Numidia, in a shrine of the temple of Æsculapius, was discovered a votive inscription raised by a native

\* See "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pp. 269-302.





of Risinium, who had risen to the position of Legate of Numidia and Consul Designate (afterwards elect), in honour of the patron divinity and "public Lar" of his native Dalmatian city. In this poetic dedication the walls of Risinium are referred to as "*Æacia Mœnia*," and the expression has created some difficulty. It seems to me, however, to be susceptible of a perfectly natural and probable explanation. The Epirote Princes, in right of their Thessalian connexion, had always insisted on their descent from Achilles the son of *Æacus*; and one at least of them appears in history as *Æacides* pure and simple. The connexion between the reigning families of Epirus and Southern Illyricum was intimate, and we are expressly told of King *Glaucias*, the Taulantian, that his wife was of the *Æacid* race.\* The South Illyrian princes who succeeded him, and who, like their Epirote kinsmen, affected Greek manners, and adopted a Greek style on their coinage, would certainly not neglect this claim to Achæan descent. The *Æacia Mœnia* of the inscription would, therefore, indicate the local tradition that the walls of Risinium, this ancient stronghold of the native kings, were reared by one of these Illyrian *Æacidæ*.

As any account of the antiquities of Risinium would be incomplete without some reference to this remarkable inscription, I here reproduce it.<sup>b</sup>

"Mœnia qui Risinni *Æacia* qui colis arcem  
 Delmatiz, nostri publice Lar populi,  
 Sancte Medaure domi e(t) sancte hic: nam templa quoq(ue) ista  
 Vise precor parva magnus in effigia.  
 Succussus læva sonipes (c)ui surgit in auras  
 Altera dum letum librat ab aure manus.  
 Talem te Consul jam designatus in ista  
 Sede locat venerans ille tuus √ √ √  
 Notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Cæsar  
 Marce, in primore clarus ubique acie."

"Adepto Consulatu √ √ √ √  
 Tibi respirantem faciem patrii numinis  
 Hastam eminus quæ jaculat refreno ex equo  
 Tuus, Medaure. dedicat Medaurius."

The continuance of the cult of *Medaurus*, the Illyrian Lar of Risinium, in

\* Justinus, lib. xvii. 8: "(Pyrrhus) defertur in Illyrios et traditus est Beron uxori regis *Glaucias* quæ et ipsa erat generis *Æacidarum*."

<sup>b</sup> As edited by Mommsen in C. I. L. iii. p. 285.

Roman Imperial times, is itself a proof of the strength of the indigenous element at this spot. The excavations and researches made by me on the site of the ancient city have brought to light abundant evidence of the importance of Risinium as an Illyrian staple and royal residence before the days of the Roman conquest. This evidence, which is almost exclusively derived from Illyrian coins, discovered in abundance on this site, has formed the subject of a communication by me to the Numismatic Society, so that I may here content myself with summarising the results at which I was enabled to arrive.\*

In the numismatic history of the Illyrian city two periods are to be noticed; the first during which the Rhizonian mint was under Greek influence, and the later period, during which Roman influence predominated. The coins are of three main varieties:—

1. Autonomous coins, struck in the name of the city, with the legend PIZO, or PIZONITAN, showing that here, as at Lissos (Alessio) and Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), there was a Republican period in the history of the city: in all probability the period immediately succeeding the break-up of the Illyrian kingdom of Genthios by the Romans in 167 B.C.
2. Coins of an Illyrian Prince Ballæos, unknown to history, but who possessed another prolific mint in the Isle of Pharos (Lesina). It is probable that this prince reigned in the second half of the second century B.C. and that his dominion represents a revival of the old Ardiaean dynasty. These coins have Greek legends, like those of Genthios.
3. Coins of one or more successors of Ballæos, some with the legend MYN. In the figure of Artemis, on the reverse, these coins resemble those of Ballæos, but the obverse presents us with heads imitated from the Pallas, Libertas, and Virtus on Roman consular *denarii*.

The general conclusion which we are enabled to draw from these coins is, that Rhizon, or Risinium, remained in a position of independence or quasi-independence of Rome, at least under the government of native princes, at a period when large tracts of the Illyrian coast both north and south of this point had been placed under direct Roman government. We are, in fact, informed by Livy<sup>b</sup> that, as a reward for their timely defection from King Genthios, the inhabitants

\* See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 269 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> Lib. xlv. c. 26.







of Rhizon and Olcinium, with the Pirustæ and others, were not only left free to govern themselves but were exempted from all tribute.

Among the coins of præ-Roman date found at Risano silver pieces of Corinth, Dyrrhachium, and Apollonia, are of comparatively frequent occurrence, and I have obtained one of the Pæonian King Lykkeios. But the extraordinary feature of this site is its inexhaustible fertility in the small brass pieces of the native King Ballæos and his successors. Considering that these coins themselves occasionally attain to a fair art level, that the inscriptions are in Greek, and that they are universally associated with fragments and remains that are undoubted products of Greek and Roman civilization, we are justified in inferring that already in Illyrian days Rhizon was beginning to present many of the external features of a civilized city. The historians of Greece and Rome, from whom all our written knowledge of the Illyrian coast-lands in their yet unconquered days is due, naturally lay stress on the piratic and barbarous side of Illyrian life. But the indigenous coinage existing at Rhizon, Scodra, Lissos, and the Isle of Pharos, and even among the mainland tribe of the Daorsi, is itself a proof that more commercial instincts were developing among the aborigines of the Adriatic coast. The ancient trade route between Greece and the lands at the head of the Adriatic could not have been without its civilising influence on the inhabitants of the littoral, and there is strong presumptive evidence that Phœnician, Pontic, and Etruscan merchants frequented the Illyrian havens in still earlier days. This Phœnician contact has left its trace in the persistent repetition by Greek writers of legends connecting Cadmus and his consort with the Illyrian towns, and in a special way with Rhizon itself. That coins of the Illyrian king Genthios have been found in Sicily tends to prove that his dominion had a mercantile as well as a piratic side, and this drunken barbarian, as he is described by Polybios and Livy, has deserved well of medical science by bringing into use the herb *Gentian*, that still preserves his name.\* Nor are there wanting ancient writers who have passed a more favourable verdict on the inhabitants of the Illyrian coast. We read of their cities, of their regular government, now under chieftains, now under kings, now autonomous in its constitution, and Scymnos adds, that "they are very pious, just, and given to hospitality, that they respect the ties of social life, and

\* Pliny, *H. N.* lib. xxv. 34: "*Gentianam invenit Gentius rex Illyriorum, ubique nascentem, in Illyrico tamen præstantissimam.*"

live in an orderly manner.”<sup>a</sup> The splendid booty collected by Anicius on the capture of King Gentios in his royal city of Scodra renders it tolerably certain that King Ballæos and his successors at Rhizon knew how to surround their court with the luxuries of civilisation, and a silver coin of this prince in the British Museum, in all probability coined in his Rhizonian mint, proves that on occasion he could employ Hellenic workmen.

The history of the Illyrian mint at Rhizon, as illustrated by the coins, undoubtedly reflects the general course of civilisation in the Illyrian city. During the period marked by the autonomous coins and the coins of King Ballæos, the external culture introduced was Greek so far as it went, and the numerous coins of Greek cities found on this site evidence considerable mercantile intercourse with Hellas. The semi-Roman character of the coins of Ballæos's successor, taken in connexion with the presence of numerous consular *denarii*, tends to show that towards the end of the second century B.C. Roman commercial enterprise, following in the wake of political supremacy, was supplanting the old Greek connexion with this part of the Adriatic coast.

Greek inscriptions have been found at Risano,<sup>b</sup> one or two of præ-Roman date, but the greater part of the remains found at Risano belong rather to the later period, when Roman influences preponderated. Among the pottery however obtained from this site I have one good example of Greek fictile art. It is an *askos* of reddish brown and yellow ware, of that peculiar form that seems to be characteristic of Magna Græcia, and which certainly bears a greater resemblance to a small china teapot than a “bladder.” (See Pl. II.) On its upper surface is stamped a medallion containing a highly artistic Faun's head, with pointed ears pricked, and flowing locks. The funnel-shaped opening of the spout is unfortunately broken off. It is difficult to understand for what use this kind of vessel may have served.

<sup>a</sup> V. 420 *seqq.*

“Καί τινά μιν αὐτῶν βουλευαῖς ἐξουσίαις  
ἐπῆκο' εἶναι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ μοναρχίας,  
ἃ δ' αὐτονομίσθαι θεοσεβεῖς δ' αὐτοὺς ἄγαν  
καὶ σφόδρα δίκαιους, φασί, καὶ φιλοξίνους,  
κοινωνικὴν διάνθεσιν ἡγαπρότας  
εἶναι, βίον ἱεροῦν τε κοσμιώτατον.”

His words have a special reference to the south Dalmatian coast, as he places opposite the region of these civilized mainlanders the Greek island colonies of Pharos (Lesina) and Corcyra Nigra (Curzola).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. G. Gelchich, *Memorie storiche sulle Bocche di Cattaro*, pp. 10, 11, and Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arheološkičkoga Društva*, an. iii. p. 52. Most of these have been transported to Perasto.





ASKOS, FROM SALONÆ  
(FULL SIZE)  
See p 44

SACRIFICIAL KNIFE, FROM NARONA  
(FULL SIZE)  
See p 77

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A.J. EVANS F.S.A.

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The expanding mouth of the spout seems to preclude the idea that it was used for filling lamps, and the fact that it has no other orifice but the spout must have prevented free flow from it for any purpose. Possibly it served for letting the oil drip in the process of anointing. This vase was found at Carine, on the western part of the ancient site, by a peasant digging in his vineyard. In the same grave, for so he described to me the place in which it lay, were a patera and another vase which has lost its handles, but which also bears a Magna Græcian character.

It is noteworthy that at the present day the East Adriatic ports obtain their pottery almost exclusively from the Apulian coast, and the modern potters of the Terra d'Otranto are thus only keeping up a connexion begun, as these Risinian relics prove, in days before the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Compared with the handiwork of the ancient artists of Uria and Lupisæ the modern crockery is rude, but in some of the forms a distinct Hellenic tradition is perceptible, and amphoras, especially, of singularly old Greek aspect are still to be seen exposed for sale on the quay of modern Risano.

The *askos* and vase described belong to the latest præ-Roman period of Greek art. There is, however, evidence that Greek mercantile enterprise was supplying the Illyrian aborigines with earthenware, and that from a more remote quarter, at a considerably earlier period. Theopompos\* of Chios, who wrote in the fourth century B.C. and who ought certainly to be an authority on matters that relate to the wares of his own island, informs us that Thasian and Chian pottery was found in the Naron, the next river-inlet on the Illyrian coast beyond the "Rhizonic gulf." This notice is supplemented by a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian work, "On Wondrous Reports,"<sup>b</sup> in which the author of that work states that between Mentoricé and Istria is a mountain called Delphion, "from the peak of which the Mentores who inhabit the Adriatic coast are said to see ships sailing on the Pontic Sea," and that "in the intervening space is a common market where merchants coming from Pontus sell the wares of Lesbos, Chios, and Thasos, and others coming from the Adriatic coast sell Corcyræan amphoras."<sup>c</sup> Apart from

\* Fr. 140. Theopompos imagines that the vases must have reached the Naron by some underground river course forming a connexion between the Adriatic and the Ægean. Strabo, to whom the preservation of this notice is due, is justly sceptical as to the geological deduction of Theopompos: "Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λίγει· τό τε συντερεῖσθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρίκεσθαι κειράμεν τε Θάσιον καὶ Χίον ἐν τῷ Νάρονι." (vii. p. 488.)

<sup>b</sup> Περὶ θαυμασιῶν ἀκουσμάτων, c. civ.

<sup>c</sup> "εἶναι δὲ καὶ τινα τόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μίσην διαστήμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοινῆς γενομένης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἱμπόρων ἀναβαινόντων τὰ Λέσβια καὶ Χία, καὶ Θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τοὺς Κερκυραικοὺς ἀμφορεῖς."



the geographical absurdity of Pontus being visible from a mountain near the Adriatic coast, there can be little doubt that this notice, containing as it does an allusion to the old Danubian trade-route between the Euxine and the head of the Adriatic, is true so far as it relates to the importation of Greek wares and pottery to some native market on the Illyrian coast, in all probability either Rhizon itself or the old Illyrian staple of the Narenta. In the Greek insular settlements in these waters at Issa, Black Corcyra, Pharos, and elsewhere, there was naturally a demand for such wares, and fine Greek vases and *οἶνοχοαί* have been found at Lissa\* and elsewhere. It is reasonable to suppose that a part of these imported wares found its way to the native markets of the mainland, and it would even appear that the fictile works of the native potters were, at an early period, rudely imitated from Greek models, though without their colouring and ornament. On a fragment of a cup discovered by me in a pre-historic stone-barrow in Canali, an account of the excavation of which I hope on some future occasion to communicate to this Society, and which dated apparently from the later period of the Illyrian bronze age, Hellenic influence appears to be distinctly traceable.

That in Roman times the suburbs of the city embraced a considerable area is shown by the fact that the foundations of houses, including a mosaic pavement, are to be seen about half-an-hour up the mountainous steep on the East and near a delicious fountain. The sepulchral remains lie for the most part either at Carine or in a campagna to the left of the Risano Fiumara. I copied the following,<sup>b</sup> (v. figs. 13—17) not contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* or *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

The name Plætoria or Plætorius, as it appears to occur on another Risinian inscription,<sup>c</sup> with its variant forms Plætor, Plator, and Pletor, is a Latinization of one of the most characteristic Illyrian names,<sup>d</sup> and derives special interest from

\* Cf. Glavinich, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1878, xcii. In the museum at Ragusa is a Greek painted vase said to have been found on the site of Epitaurum.

<sup>b</sup> Since I took down these inscriptions copies of figs. 13, 14, 15, and 17 have been sent to the Croatian Archaeological Society, and are given by Dr. Ljubić in *Viestnik* (an. i. p. 127; an. ii. p. 101), where my excavations are referred to. The examples in the *Viestnik* will be found to differ in some small details from mine, and do not represent the original lettering. Figs. 14 and 16 are at present in the Casa Mišetić. Fig. 13 was found in the *campagna* of Paprenica. Fig. 15 is from the left bank of the Fiumara; I have since deposited this stone in the museum at Ragusa.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1730, as completed by Mommsen.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2751, 2752, 2773, 2788, among inscriptions found at Verlikka and S. Danillo in Dalmatia; 3144 in the Isle of Cherso; 3804, 3825, at Iggy near Laibach, here in a Celtic connexion;—"VOLTREX PLÆTORIS"; in a Privilegium (C. I. L. iii. D. vii.) granted by Vespasian—PLATORI . VENETI . F . CENTVRIONI . MAEZIO; at Apulum and Alburnus Major (VICVS PIRVSTAVM) in Dacia where was a large Illyrian mining colony (1192, 1271.)







Fig. 13.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.

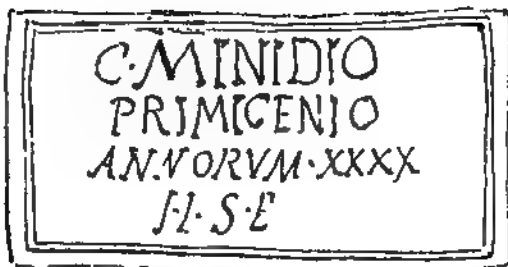


Fig. 16.

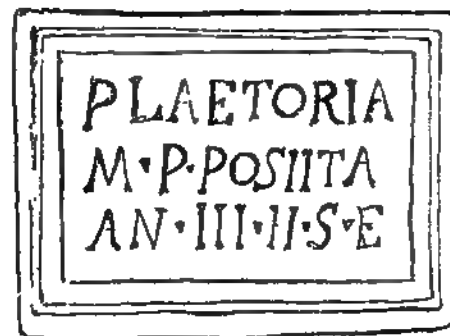


Fig. 17.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM RISINUM (RISANO).

its reappearance among the Messapians\* of the opposite Italian coast, the Illyrian affinities of whom are undoubted. The occurrence of this and other indigenous names on Risinian monuments, taken in connexion with the abiding cult of the native Lar, show that the Illyrian element continued to hold its own in the Roman city; and I may observe that the modern Risanotes, though at present entirely of Slavonic speech, must ethnologically be classed with the Albanian descendants of these same Illyrians. The finely-modelled head, the aquiline nose, such as King Ballæos displays on his Rhizonian coins, the "stricti artus, minax vultus," recall at once the Illyrian aborigines of ancient writers and the modern Skipetar. Meanwhile the Risanote tales about Queen Teuta or Czaritza Tiuda, as they call her, may be safely placed in the same category with the Ragusa-Vecchian traditions of Dolabella and Cadmus.

The Roman city appears to have drawn its water supply direct from the cavern from which the Risano Fiumara issues. On the right bank of the stream I found the channel of an aqueduct, resembling that of Epitaurum, hewn out of the solid rock. This channel leads into the vast atrium of the cavern, the floors and walls of which have been hewn out apparently to form a large reservoir. There can be no doubt that in ancient times this was filled with water, and that the supply of water was considerably greater than it is now. At present in summer the bed of the Fiumara is almost dried up, and the aqueduct would be useless even in the rainy season. That the character of the source should have altered will surprise no one who has observed the vagaries of streams and sources in a limestone country; and its diminished volume may be connected with the continued deforesting of the Dalmatian coasts during the last two thousand years, which here, as in Greece, has contributed to decrease the rainfall. The cavern is still, however, a considerable reservoir. Following it by an easy descent of about one hundred yards into the mountain you arrive at the brink of a subterranean pool of unknown dimensions. In Roman days the summer level of this pool must have reached the excavated chamber in the mouth of the cavern, from which the channel of the aqueduct issues. The Slavonic-speaking natives, having wholly forgotten its former application and origin, regard the rock-hewn channel as of supernatural creation, and call it "Vilin Put," "the Fairies' Way."

\* Cf. inscriptions found at Capo di Leuca, Πλατορας Παλαιοας Ισαπερι, and at Ceglie beginning ΓΑΑΤΟΡΑΣ, given in Mommsen, *Die unteritalienischen Dialekte*, p. 51. The plebeian family name Plætoria at Rome was derived from this source.





Engraved gems are not so abundant on this site as on that of Epitaurum, where Græco-Roman culture was less alloyed with indigenous barbarism. I have, however, procured four or five; and a fine gold ring set with an onyx engraved with a lion, recently discovered here, was presented by the Commune of Risano as a baptismal gift to the second son of Prince Nikola of Montenegro.\* One *intaglio*, a pale sard from this site, in my own possession, is remarkable as presenting an unique Roman-Christian composition (fig. 18). On it is seen the Good Shepherd, not in the usual attitude, but holding forth what appears to be intended for the typical lamb, which he has lowered from his shoulders.<sup>b</sup> Before him stands a ram, while to the left is a tall amphora-like jar, probably meant to represent one of the water-pots of Cana of Galilee. Above is seen the Christian monogram, and another symbol consisting of three upright strokes crossed by one transverse.

Fig. 18. ROMAN-CHRISTIAN INTAGLIO FROM RISINIUM. (Enlarged.)

As late as the end of the sixth century the Christian Church of Risinium seems to have been still flourishing and important. Two letters are extant addressed by Pope Gregory the Great to Sebastian, Bishop of Risinium, one of 591 and the other of 595 A.D.<sup>c</sup> In the latter of these Gregory speaks of "*dulcissima et suavissima fraternitatis tuæ verba*," but laments at the same time the evil which he suffers from Sebastian's friend, Romanus, Exarch of Ravenna, to whose government Risinium with the other Dalmatian coast-cities then belonged, and whose malice towards the representative of St. Peter cut sharper in Gregory's opinion than the swords of the Lombards.<sup>d</sup> The next mention of a Bishop of Risinium occurs after an interval of seven hundred years.

Of a date still later than the Christian intaglio, and by far the most beautiful object, to my knowledge, discovered at Risano, is a gold pendant, inlaid on either side with cloisonné enamel, dug up in a *campagna* at Carina in 1878 by a man whom

\* Amongst other objects of Roman jewelry obtained by myself from this site may be mentioned a part of a gold earring terminating in a lion's head, and two spiral snake bracelets of silver, much resembling a kind of bangle which has lately again become fashionable.

<sup>b</sup> On another Christian gem, obtained by me at Salona, the Good Shepherd stands at the side of a group of sheep and goats beneath a palm tree. The material is green jasper.

<sup>c</sup> Given in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. vi. pp. 411, 412. The letters are headed "Gregorius Sebastiano Episcopo Rhiziniensi."

<sup>d</sup> "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit."



I had employed to make excavations (fig. 19). It presents on one side a crested beast of grotesque and mythical aspect, with a projecting tongue, the colours of



Fig. 19. GOLD ENAMELLED PENDANT, CARINA, 1878.

the animal being green, yellow, red, and bluish white on a dark blue ground. On the other side is a conventional rose, with dark blue and yellow petals, and red centre on a green ground. This rose, which has much in common with the familiar rose of heraldry, is of a form frequent on Roman mosaics, and not least upon those that adorn the walls of Roman-Christian basilicas. The four round excrescences attached to the broader petals may be regarded as singular, otherwise there is nothing in the design on this side alien to the Roman art of the Western Empire to which Risinium in Justinian's time belonged. So far as the colours go they recall with singular fidelity the predominant tints in the mosaics of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, of the church S. Apollinare Nuovo and other Ravennate monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries. The sombre blue and green ground in mosaic work, at least, is more distinctive of Western than of pure Byzantine traditions.

The quasi-heraldic animal on the other side of the pendant is suggestive at once of Oriental influences. It bears a strong family likeness to the griffins, winged lions, and other fabulous monsters, on some remarkable vessels found at Szent Miklos, in the district of Torontal, in Hungary, in 1799, and which are now among the treasures of the Antiken Cabinet at Vienna.\* Among the points in which the animal on the Risano pendant bears a special resemblance to some of those of the Torontal hoard may be signalised the character of the head and eye, the drop-shaped spots or stripes on the body, and the attitude of the legs and tail. On the other hand, the crest or mane is of a more cocks-comb-like form; the wings with which most of the Torontal monsters are equipped, as

\* See Von Arnoeth, *Monumente des k. k. Münz und Antiken Cabinettes*, Wien, 1850, Pl. a. iv., a. v., a. xiv. &c.





well as their arabesque appendages, are wanting, and the general elegance and spirit of the design is considerably diminished.

The Torontal objects are unquestionably of Persian origin ;\* the mythic representations that occur on them are thoroughly Oriental, and the monsters represented are the true forerunners of the Mahometan *Borrah*, of which fabulous animal we learn that it had a mane of pearls and jacinths, that its ears were as emeralds, and its eyes as rubies. The form of the Torontal gold vessels is also characteristically Persian, much resembling the cups which every Persian hangs at his saddle-bow when he goes out riding. Von Arneth considers them to be of fifth-century workmanship, though they bear inscriptions of later date. One of these, in Greek characters, seems to be a line of a Byzantine missionary hymn. Another gives the names of two chiefs, apparently of Bela, Župan of the Theiss, and Butaul, Župan of the Jazyges, a people, be it observed, of Medo-Sarmatian stock.<sup>b</sup>

The Risano pendant may therefore be taken as illustrating the influence of these fifth-century Persian models on late Roman and Byzantine art, an influence which, from this time onwards, becomes more and more perceptible. No example of any perfectly analogous jewel has come under my observation ; there is, however, one feature besides the general character of the enamel and goldwork, which it shares with some other ornaments of Byzantine date. The outer rim is provided with a groove and five loops—three below and two above. The use to which these were applied is shown by an earring in the British Museum, with similar groove and loops, to which a circlet of pearls—strung on a golden wire—is still attached. Two other Byzantine earrings, in the Burges Collection, enriched on one side with that well-known Christian emblem, a pair of doves, enamelled, in one case, on a gold field, and dating probably from the seventh century, show an arrangement of the same kind.

Taking into consideration on the one hand this Byzantine feature in the form, and, on the other hand, the distinct reflection in the design of Persian models, the introduction of which into the Illyrian provinces was probably not unconnected with the great Hunnish irruption of the fifth century, we cannot greatly

\* An account of the Torontal treasure will be found in Von Arneth, *op. cit.* p. 20 *seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> This inscription reads : BOYHAA · ZOAIAN · TEEH · AYGETOIGH · BOYTAOYA · ZOAIAN · TAΓPOΓH · HTZIGH · TAIZH. Von Hammer (*Osmanische Geschichte*, iii. 726) compares TAΓPOΓH · HTZIGH with *Δακρυοί* *Idryes*, a tribe of Jazyges mentioned by Dion (lxxi. 12). The Tagri are mentioned by Ptolemy (iii. c. 5). The inscription is cited by Šafarik (*Slawische Alterthümer*, i. 345) as a monument of the early connexion of Slavs and Sarmatians. ZOAIAN cannot be other than the Slav *Župan*, the governor of the *Župa* or Mark.

err in assigning the present work to the period of comparative peace and prosperity that dawned on Dalmatia in the first half of the sixth century. Of later date than the sixth century it cannot well be, as Roman Risinium itself was utterly wiped out some time in the first half of the next century by a barbarous horde of Slavs and Avars. The early part of the century that preceded this awful overthrow—which Risinium shared with its sister cities, Epitaurum and Salonæ—was marked in Dalmatia, as in Italy, by the beneficent Ostrogothic dominion. The Dalmatian cities gained a new lease of life, and the relative abundance of Ostrogothic coins on these Trans-Adriatic sites is itself a tangible proof of their prosperity. On the recovery of Dalmatia by Justinian's generals, the Roman cities of its coast ranked among the most valuable possessions of his Exarchs at Ravenna, and the Province was then reckoned "the stronghold of the West." There can be no good reason for doubting that the Risano jewel was of Dalmatian, perhaps of local Risinian, manufacture; indeed, its somewhat heavy Occidental aspect, coupled with the purely Roman form of the rose, associated as they yet are with undoubtedly Oriental features, render the work peculiarly appropriate to the character of a Province which formed the borderland between the Eastern and Western Worlds.

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## II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ. EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

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### SYNOPSIS.

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## II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ, EPITAEURUM, SCODRA.

Two lines of communication between the Dalmatian capital, Salonæ and the great Pannonian city, Siscia, are indicated by the *Tabula* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. One ran through Æquum, near Sinj, and thence by an obscure route across what is now North-West Bosnia, to Servitium, identified with Gradiska, on the Save, where it met the important valley line connecting Siscia and Sirmium. The other, followed the Via Gabiniana to Promona, marked by the abiding name of the mountain, Promina. Thence it proceeded to Burnum, identified by the extensive ruins near Kistanje, known, from the still-standing portion of a Roman triumphal arch, as *Archi Romani*,—to the Morlach natives as the “Hollow Church” or “Trajan’s Castle,”—an account of which was communicated to this Society,\* in 1775, by John Strange, Esq. from information supplied by the Abbé Fortis. From Burnum the road crossed the steep slopes of the Velebić range into the ancient Iapygia, at present the Lika district of Croatia. At a point called Bivium it divided into two branches, one running to the port of Senia, the modern Zengg, the other, traversing what is now the Kraina, to Siscia, past the station of Ad Fines, which has been recently identified with the hot springs of Topusko<sup>b</sup> in the valley of the Glina.

Taking Burnum as a fixed point, Professor Mommsen has identified the next station, thirteen miles distant on the route, Hadre, with the village of Medvidje, where Roman inscriptions have been discovered, and to which the traces of a Roman road from Burnum certainly conduct. Were this identification to be accepted, it would follow that the Roman route from the Liburnian district of Dalmatia into the Iapygian interior approximately coincides with the course of the present highway which winds up the steep slopes of Velebić from the Dalmatian town of Obrovazzo, and descends into what has been not inaptly called the Croatian Siberia at the little village of St. Roch. Near here, at St. Michael, and

\* *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 346.

<sup>b</sup> Prof. Ljubić in *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeološkoga Društva*, 1880, No. 1.





again at Ploča, Roman inscriptions\* have been discovered, and it is in this district accordingly that Professor Mommsen places the site of Ausancalio, marked on the *Tabula* as 29 miles distant from Hadre.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the natural pass into the Lika district from Kistanje, the site of Burnum, lies rather up the Zermanja valley and past Mala Popina to Gračac. A good road runs through its whole extent, and this is the route which a native would undoubtedly take at the present day. In this case the site of Hadre would have to be sought in the Zermanja valley, somewhere near the mediæval ruins of Zvonigrad. The next station, "Clambetis," 13 miles distant, would lie in the neighbourhood of Gračac, where, at Omšica, a fragment of a Roman inscription has been discovered, and the succeeding station, Ausancalio, 16 miles further, should be sought at Udbina, to which place a natural route, of about the requisite length, conducts us from the plain of Gračac.<sup>b</sup>

Two Roman inscriptions from Udbina are already known. I am now enabled to describe another, which remarkably corroborates the view that here, rather than at St. Michael, is to be sought the ancient Ausancalio (fig. 1<sup>a</sup>). The inscription itself had been transported from Udbina to the neighbouring town of Lapac,

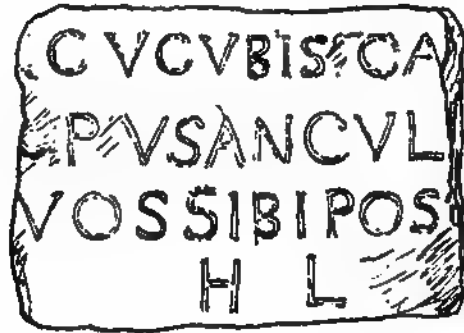


Fig. 1<sup>a</sup>. INSCRIPTION REFERRING TO THE MUNICIPIUM OF AUSANCALIO.  
Found at Udbina.

\* C. I. L. iii. 2992, 2995.

<sup>b</sup> This is far from denying that there was an alternative road from Liburnia into Japygia by way of the Municipium that apparently occupied the site of the present Obrovazzo. It stands to reason indeed that this line of communication was known to and used by the Romans. All that I have been maintaining is, that the natural route from Burnum towards Siscia and Senia would run through the easier pass of the Zermanja. I am, personally, well acquainted with both routes.

where I saw it in the out-house of a local eccentric called Omčikus, who had collected a variety of antiquities and other miscellaneous objects under his roof, amongst which he lived, in what he was pleased to call a state of nature.

The two penultimate lines may, perhaps, be completed:—

MUNICIP . AUSANCVLION . || VIVOS SIBI POSUIT

The preceding word must be regarded as uncertain, but the reference to the name *Ausancalio*, here *Ausanculio*, is clear.\*

The long plain of Corbavia (Krbava), extending from Udbina to the north-west, would afford an admirable avenue for the continuation of the Roman road. The position of Bunić, 15 miles distant, at the other extremity of this plain, would answer to the succeeding station Ancus, which, as we may infer from its containing an element common to *Ausancalio* or *Ausanculio*, must have stood in some obvious geographical opposition to the latter. So in Southern Dalmatia we find a *Derva* and an *Anderva*.

From Udbina a road leads eastward, over the wild and romantic forest-mountain known as the Kuk Planina, to the fertile plain of Lapac. Here, in the lower village of that name, and in the same locality as the last, I copied the following Roman inscription, found on the spot (fig. 2\*). The inscription was, unfortunately, in a fragmentary condition, the lower portion being detached from the rest.



Fig 2\*. FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTION.  
Lower Lapac.

The mention of the *II VIRI IVRE DICENDO* is an indication that a Roman Municipium existed on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of Lapac. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, those I saw being mostly of fourth-century date, and from the Siscian and Aquilejan mints. From the same site I obtained a Gnostic gem of green jasper, and of remarkably good workmanship, presenting the legend *IAO ADONIS ABRAXAS*.

\* A copy of this inscription was sent by its present possessor to Dr. Kukuljević, and has been communicated by him to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vol. iii. n. 570). The version given there, however, is misleading.





Beyond Lapac, to the East and South-East, on the other side of what till lately was the Turkish frontier, stretches the rugged Alpine district of the Upper Kraina, watered by the Unna and its tributary the Unnac, which is one of the wildest and least-explored districts in the whole of Bosnia. During the recent troubled years its inaccessible glens formed the strongholds of rayah insurgency against the Ottoman; and the wholesale exodus of the Christian population from the Turkish districts filled the limestone caverns and rock shelters, which abound throughout the region, with a new race of cave-dwellers. In the heart of this region, archæologically speaking a *terra incognita*, but which I had occasion to traverse throughout the greater part of its extent, I discovered interesting traces of mediæval and Roman civilization. At Preodac, Vissuča and elsewhere are considerable remains of feudal castles, dating from the days of the Bosnian kingdom. At Upper Unnac are the remains of an ancient church, surrounded by the huge sepulchral blocks usually found in mediæval Bosnian graveyards; while lower down the valley are interesting ruins of a tower and an ancient minster, whose name, Ermanja, would lead us to connect them with Hermann of Cilli. But the most remarkable feature of the district is the trace of an ancient paved way. The whole country-side abounds in legends connected with this ancient way, which perpetuate in an extraordinary manner the memory of an historical event which occurred in this part of the world in the thirteenth century. A contemporary writer, Thomas the Archdeacon of Spalato,\* informs us with the vividness of an eye-witness, how on the occasion of the great Tatar invasion of Hungary of 1241 King Bela fled from Agram with his queen, Maria Lascaris, the shattered relics of his chivalry, and his royal treasures, across the Dinaric ranges to his maritime Dalmatian stronghold of Spalato, the mediæval successor of Salonæ. The Tatar Khagan, we are told, Utegai, the son of the terrible Genghis Khan, or rather the Khagan's general, pursued King Bela, to quote the Archdeacon's words, "with a furious host across the mountains, flying rather than marching, scaling the most inaccessible heights,"<sup>b</sup> till he finally swept down on the Dalmatian littoral, there to dash his forces in vain against the walls of the coast-cities, and to see his horse-flesh waste away on the Dalmatian rocks. It is said that the

\* *Historia Salonitana*, c. xxxix.: "Rex relictis stationibus Zagrabiensium partium cum omni comitatu suo ad mare descendit . . . Rex vero et totus flos reliquorum Ungarorum ad Spalati partes devenit." Later he retreats to Traù, "cum uxore sua et cum omnibus gazis suis."

<sup>b</sup> "Venit autem non quasi iter faciens sed quasi per aerem volans loca invia et montes asperrimos supergrediens unde numquam exercitus ambulavit." *Op. cit.* c. xl.



names of Monte Tartaro, near Sebenico, and of Kraljazza, or the King's island, whither King Bela transported his treasures, still perpetuate the memory of the great Tatar invasion and the royal flight on the Adriatic coast. In the Unnac district the record of the Tatar invasion and of King Bela's escape has been even more distinctly preserved, although in some cases partly confounded with the later flight of the last King of Bosnia from the Turks, which found its tragic termination in the field of Bilaj, on the borders of the same district. So deeply had this earlier episode of the terrible Mongol inroad impressed itself on the imagination of the inhabitants, that not even the Turkish conquest has been able to efface its record among the Kraina peasants. Without entering into details on the present occasion, I may here briefly relate the legend as it was told to me by the inhabitants.

"When the Tatars invaded Bosnia, the King, Bela, took refuge in his stronghold, the Starigrad of Bravsko, that lies on the forest-mountain of Germeć.\* There he sate with his family, and his nobles, and his treasures; but when the Tatars came nearer he resolved to fly once more, leaving only his daughter behind him, who for her tarrying was transformed into a dragon, to guard his hoards. And there, above Bravsko, is a walled enclosure, still known as Kraljevo Torine, or the King's Yard; and there is a fountain called the King's fountain. But the King fled with the Queen and the rest of his family, and part of his treasure, to the South, into Dalmatia, and as he went he laid down a road wherever he passed, and placed milestones along it, round in shape and five feet above ground, and five feet under the earth. And these milestones are to be seen to this day along the King's road from Bravsko onwards to Resanovce."

Such is the legend in its main outline. The road itself runs from Bravsko to Crljevica and crosses the Unnac near the village of Drvar, from which point I have myself traced it to Resanovce and thence in the direction of the Tiškovac Valley. At Resanovce I was pointed out a square pillar about eight feet high now in the churchyard, but which was said to have been transported from the "King's Way." A spring further along the road is still known as "Mramor," from the "Marble Stone" that is said to have existed there. Although I was not fortunate enough to find any of these milliary columns *in situ*, it is certain

\* The name Germeć covers a greater area to the South-East than that assigned to it in the Austrian *General-Stabs Karte*.





that more than one was to be seen within the memory of man. The description of their deftly-rounded form, of their deep socketing in the earth, which I had from more than one native, leaves no doubt in my mind that they were of Roman origin, and that this now forgotten route by which King Bela fled represents a section of an important line of Roman road bringing the Dalmatian coast-cities into communication with the Save Valley and the great cities of Siscia and Sirmium. In all probability it forms part of the line already mentioned at the beginning of this paper leading from Salonæ viâ Æquum to Servitium, the course of which on the Dalmatian side has never yet been satisfactorily traced. From Bravsko, a road, which is in fact the continuation of the "King's Way," leads down to Kliuč, the ancient "Key-fortress" of the Upper Sana. We are thus brought within a stage of Dobrinja, the village to which Dr. Blau\* traced a Roman way leading from Gradiska, the site of Servitium, on the Save, past Banjaluka, where the hot springs still well up, as at Novipazar, under a late Roman cupola, and thence across the ranges which form the water-shed between the Verbas and the Sana. The line followed by Dr. Blau was identified by him with every appearance of probability with the northern end of the Roman road connecting Salonæ with Servitium and the great Pannonian cities. He, himself, looked for its continuation from Dobrinja in a more southerly direction, on the strength of a hearsay account of an old Kalderym, or paved way, running from Han Podražnica (where he seeks the ancient *Leusaba*), in that direction. Dr. Blau, however, himself acknowledges the absence of ancient remains about Podražnica,<sup>b</sup> while on the other hand he mentions the existence of two marble sarcophagi,

\* *Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1867, p. 741 seqq. Cf. *La Via romana da Sirmio a Salona* (in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, 1882, p. 69). Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 131 seqq., accepts Dr. Blau's conjecture as to the course of the way from Dobrinja across the Crnagora, and sees in the Roman remains found at Glavice, Glamoč, and Livno, an indication of its subsequent course. Tomaschek advocates the same general line (*Die vordalmatische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 16 seqq.), but his views on Dalmatian topography are not corrected by personal observation. A comparison of the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* seems to show that between Leusaba and Æquum there were two alternative routes. In the *Tabula* we have Æquo, viii. in Alperio, xliii. Bariduo, — Ionnaria, xliii. Sarute, vii. Indenea, v. Baloe, xii. Leusaba. In Antonine: Æquo, xvii. Pelva, xviii. Salvia, or Silvæ, xliii. Sarnacle (or Sarnade), xviii. Leusaba.

<sup>b</sup> "in Ermangelung antiker Reste kann Leusaba nur im allgemeinen in der Hochebene Podražnica angegeben werden."

supposed to be Roman, at Radkovo,\* in other words, on the road from Dobrinja to Kliuč, and only separated by a small range from the Sana Valley.<sup>b</sup>

It is indeed difficult to imagine that a main line of communication, which in its early aspect was before all things a coupling-chain of fortified posts wherewith to bridle the fierce highlanders of the Dalmatian Alps, should not have afforded access to such an important strategic point as Kliuč has shown itself down to the very latest days of Illyrian warfare.

In the Vale of Unnac itself,<sup>c</sup> I lighted on some important remains which greatly serve to corroborate the hypothesis that King Bela's road owed its original construction to Roman engineers. A little below the point where the old road crossed the Unnac by a bridge, now destroyed, at a spot called Vrtoča, is a large and apparently artificial mound, partly imbedded in which are a confused medley of accurately squared limestone blocks. Some of these had been used in later times as Christian tombstones, as was evidenced by the crosses carved on them<sup>d</sup> but the whole gave me the impression that I was on the site of some considerable Roman structure, and although the circumstances of my visit did not permit of a long investigation I found upon one of the blocks a bas-relief of really fine Roman workmanship, representing Mercury holding the *caduceus* (see fig. 3<sup>e</sup>). The block itself was about five feet square, its depth three feet, the height of the face of the relief itself about two feet and a-half.<sup>e</sup>

In front of the mound on which these ancient remains occur, a *vallum* about a hundred yards in length traverses the level part of the valley from the river-

\* Cf. Blan, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 110.

<sup>b</sup> Near Varcar, to the North of Banjaluka and Eastward of Kliuč, have been recently discovered Roman remains, including a large hoard of *denarii*, mostly of the Emperors Alexander Severus, Gordian, Philip, Trajan Decius, Gallus, and Volusian, some sixty of which have passed through my hands. The discovery of Roman remains at this site establishes a link of connexion between the Sana Valley and the succession of Roman sites at Podlipci, Rumić, Mosunj, Putačevo and Vitež, in the Valley of the Lašva, and points to an old line of communication between the Upper Bosna and the Sana, which opens the most natural route towards Siscia.

<sup>c</sup> Interesting remains have been lately discovered by Capt. Von. Handel in the Valley of the Unna about an hour to the south-east of Bihać. They consist of several inscriptions, one presenting the female Illyrian name-form *DIRVEIO* and the Mazeian name *Andes*, a Mithraic relief, a figure of a Faun or Sylvanus, and other fragments. Prof. Tomaschek, who has published an account of the discovery (*Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1881, h. 2, p. 466 *seqq.*), is inclined to identify the site with the ancient Rætinium. There is a height answering well enough to the description of the Acropolis of Rætinium, besieged by Germanicus.

<sup>d</sup> In one case a monogram appeared, *Æ*

<sup>e</sup> I have alluded to this discovery in my *Illyrian Letters*, London, 1878, p. 37.





bank. This is known as *Šanac*,\* or “the dyke,” and on the neighbouring height of Mount Obljaj, are two more, known as *Gradine*.

More recently I learn that a schoolmaster from Srb on the triple frontier has discovered another Roman monument in the Unnac Valley, described in the

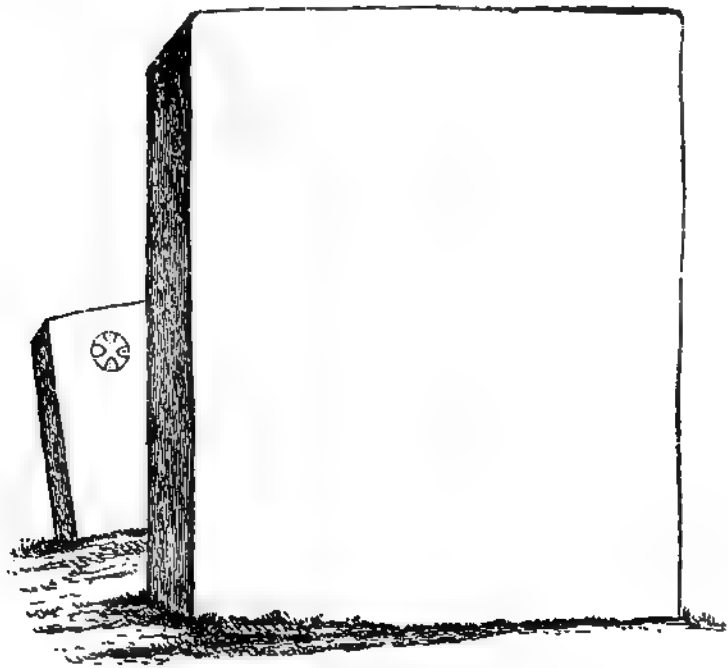


Fig. 3<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN BAS-RELIEF OF MERCURY.  
Vrtoča, in the Unnac Valley, Bosnia.

Croatian Archæological Journal as a fragment of a sepulchral slab showing a human figure in bas-relief with crossed arms, and beneath it an inscription too weather-worn to be deciphered, but in Roman characters.<sup>b</sup>

After crossing the water-shed the ancient road descends into the vale of the Tiskovac stream a little above the village of Strmica. Here, again, Roman remains are abundant. I have procured many good specimens of imperial and consular denarii from this site, and a sepulchral inscription was found here in

\* Cf. Germ. *Schanze*.

<sup>b</sup> *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 68: “jedan komad nadgrobne ploče na kojoj je u basirilifu ljučka slika skrstenima rukama izpod koje nadpis koj je zub vremena veoma iztrošio, ne vidi se ipak da je rimski.” In the same communication is mentioned the discovery of Roman coins of Constantine’s time, together with other antiquities, at Kumićgrad, an hour’s distance from Srb.



honour of a soldier of the 11th Legion.<sup>a</sup> From Strmica the River Butišnica opens a natural avenue to the Vale of Knin, in the immediate neighbourhood of which and at Topolje, near the beautiful upper falls of the Kerka, Roman remains are of frequent occurrence.

At Knin itself, apparently the ancient Varvaria—witness an inscription<sup>b</sup> found on the neighbouring banks of the Kerka, the ancient Titus or Titius—I observed, walled into a gateway on a public walk, a little below the old castle, or “Starigrad,” a monument dating probably from the period when the interior part of Dalmatia was in the possession of Croat princes, the coast-cities being still Roman under the more or less shadowy suzerainty of Byzantium. I paid, indeed, the by no means unexampled penalty of being arrested by the Austrian Commandant for my temerity in copying a stone which was within his “*rayon*,” but I was able to preserve at least the front view of this interesting memorial (fig. 4<sup>a</sup>). It has since, I am informed, been mysteriously removed from its ancient site; for there are still, it would appear, European countries in which archaeology savours of sedition.

Fig. 4<sup>a</sup>. MONUMENT, PERHAPS  
OF AN EARLY CROAT PRINCE.  
Knin, Dalmatia.

The monument is of a remarkable kind. Its face, so far as it is preserved, presents two compartments, in the upper of which stands a full-length figure holding a spear, and some unknown object; in the lower is the full-face bust of a larger figure, which suggests a direct tradition from Constantinian times, to the left of which is a sceptre. The acanthus leaf and chevron bordering—the latter of which is frequent on the Roman monuments of Dalmatia—also show the influence of Imperial models. The elaborate palmetto ornament (fig. 5<sup>a</sup>), which forms the border of the exposed side of the slab,<sup>c</sup> also occurs on the Roman

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6417.

<sup>b</sup> The monument (C. I. L. iii. 6418) is erected to a veteran of the 11th legion killed here, “*VINIBVS VARVARINORVM IN AGELLO SECVS TITVM FLVMEN AD PETRAM LONGAM*.” It was found near the village of Puljane, at a spot still known as Duga Stina, “the long rock” (cf. p. 35).

<sup>c</sup> The other face of the monument when I saw it was built into the wall. Its height was about 2½ feet. The segment of this ornament (fig. 5<sup>a</sup>) is taken from a sketch which the susceptibility of the Austrian authorities prevented me from completing and which is therefore imperfect.





monuments of the province, and as an ornamental tradition was preserved by the Roman coast-cities of Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages. It is seen, for instance, on the *repoussé* silver *arca* of St. Demetrius at Arbe, an indigenous Dalmatian work of the eleventh or twelfth century,<sup>a</sup> as well as on the panels of the wooden door of the Duomo at Spalato, executed by that admirable Spalatine artist, Andrea Guvina, in the year 1214. In lapidary sculpture it seems to have been not unfrequent in Adriatic regions in the eighth century, occurring in a rather degraded form on the altar of the Lombard Duke Pemmo, of Friuli, who was deposed by Liutprand in 738.



Fig. 5<sup>a</sup>. SPECIMEN OF ORNAMENTATION ON THE SIDE OF THE MONUMENT.

The legend between the two panels on the face of the slab appears to be STEFATON|| (TE in ligature). It is possible, however, that the final letter may be part of an M. The sceptre to the left of the bust would certainly seem to indicate a princely personage, and I observe that a sceptre of similar form is repeated at intervals round the font of the Serbian Great Župan Voislav, or Višeslav, of Zachulmia, formerly in the church of S. Salvatore, at Venice, at present existing in the Museo Correr. The Great Župan, whose name it bears, and whom Dr. Kukuljević Sakcinski<sup>b</sup> first identified with the historical personage referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ruled over Zachulmia, the old Serbian region inland from Ragusa, embracing a good deal of what is at present the Herzegovina, between about the years 870—900. The son of this Zachulmian prince, Michael Višević, is twice brought into connexion with the Croatian King Tomislav. About the year 925, Pope John X. addressed to both a letter exhorting them to bring up their children in the knowledge of Latin letters;<sup>c</sup> and shortly after this exhortation, both princes are found presiding at a synod at Spalato,<sup>d</sup> in which the use of the Slav vernacular is again denounced. Could it be shown that Tomislav, like so many later Slavonic princes, attached the Christian name Stephanus, or

<sup>a</sup> Engraved in Eitelberger, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmaziens*, p. 150.

<sup>b</sup> *Arkiv za poviestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. iv. p. 390 *seqq.* The frontispiece to this volume contains a representation of the font.

<sup>c</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, xc. (t. i. p. 76). The Pope continues, "Quis enim specialis filius sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, sicut vos estis, in barbara seu Slavonica lingua Deo sacrificium offerre delectatur?"

<sup>d</sup> *Codex diplomaticus*, xcii. (t. i. p. 78).

Stefanus, to his Croatian name, the inscription on the present stone—the final letter of which is uncertain—might be taken for the commencement of the words STEFAN TOMISLAV. It is certain that Knin was highly favoured by the early Croatian princes; its bishops received from them the title of *Episcopi regii*, or *palatini*,\* and the Latin style of the present inscription fits in well with King Tomislav's acquiescence in the Pope's injunction to abjure the barbarian letters, in other words, the Glagolitic alphabet.

It is probable that the course of the Roman road, with which we are at present specially concerned, passed rather to the east of Knin, skirting its plain, to the Roman site at Topolje.

From Topolje the present road leads by an easy pass to the town of Verlika, in the neighbourhood of which, and especially near the source of the Cettina, several Roman inscriptions have been found, presenting some Illyrian name-forms. While examining one of these in the mediæval graveyard that surrounds the ruined church of S. Salvatore (Svëti Spas)—itself, as some interlaced Byzantine ornament built into its walls shows, the successor of a still earlier foundation—I had the curiosity to ask my Verlika guide to whom he thought the ancient monuments owed their origin. He replied that they were made by the old inhabitants of the land, the *Goti-Romani*, or Roman Goths, who lived there before his own (Slavonic) forefathers took possession of it. The reply was curious, as this local tradition of the Goths was certainly, in his case, not derived from book-learning. The Ostro-Gothic dominion in Dalmatia, as has already been remarked, was a prosperous episode in the history of the province. The number of coins of Theodoric, Athalaric, and even the later kings, Witiges, and the Totila<sup>b</sup> of history, that are discovered on Dalmatian soil is remarkable, and we have the distinct statement of Procopius that there existed, side by side with the Roman provincials, a settled Gothic population in Dalmatia. That the name of the Goths should still survive in the local folk-lore is the less to be wondered at when we remember how large a part they play in the early Slavonic sagas collected by the first Dalmatian historian, the Presbyter of Dioclea.

From Verlika the road runs past Citluk, near Sinj, the site of the ancient Æquum, to Salona and Spalato. Thus from the upper Sana to the Adriatic, on a line of ancient communication between the valley of the Save and the local

\* Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> On his coins, *Baduila* or *Baduela*. In this connexion I may mention that I have obtained from Bosnia a jacinth intaglio on which is engraved a monogram bearing the closest resemblance to that of Theodoric on his coins.





successors of Siscia and Sirmium on the one hand and the Dalmatian littoral and the local successor of Salonæ on the other, I have traced a succession of sites marked by the occurrence of Roman monuments and remains. It is difficult not to believe that this ancient line of communication and the paved road across the ranges of the Upper Kraina represent the Roman road by which, according to the Itinerary of Antonine and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the port of Salonæ was brought into connexion with the Pannonian cities Siscia and Sirmium. It was by no other road that, when Attila overwhelmed these two imperial cities, the fugitive remnants of their citizens made their way across the Dinaric ranges to what was then the great Dalmatian city of asylum. It does not appear that the ravages of Attila actually extended to the Dalmatian littoral, but in 591 A.D. we find the Avar Khagan making use of this avenue of communication to penetrate into the Adriatic coast-lands from the valley of the Save. According to the Byzantine chroniclers<sup>a</sup> the Avar Khagan, compelled to evacuate Singidunum, the present Belgrade, hurried to Dalmatia and the Ionian, we may translate the Adriatic, Sea, capturing on the way, with the aid of siege material, a city variously named *Bankeis*, *Balkes*, *Balbes*, and *Balea*, and destroying forty other strongholds. That his chief advance was made along the Roman high-road appears from the succeeding notice of Theophylact, that the Roman officer who was despatched with a small body of not more than two thousand men to observe the Khagan's motions kept to the byways and avoided the main roads<sup>b</sup> lest he should encounter the enemy in overwhelming forces. In this city, which from the context we may infer to have been the key stronghold of the Roman main line of communication across the Dinaric Alps, some have traced the *Baloie* which appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the midmost station between Servitium and Salonæ, and Šafarik<sup>c</sup> has discerned in it the peak-stronghold of Bilaj, about ten miles distant from the confluence of the Unnac and the Unna, famous in later history as the scene of the execution of the last King of Bosnia by his Turkish captors. Dr. Rački<sup>d</sup> prefers to see in it Baljke, near Darniš, within the modern Dalmatian border.<sup>e</sup> Personally, I would

<sup>a</sup> Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* vii. 11, 12 (Ed. Bonn, p. 291.) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 428.

<sup>b</sup> τὰς λεωφόρους.

<sup>c</sup> *Slav. Alt.* vol. ii. p. 238.

<sup>d</sup> *Mon. Spec. hist. Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. vii. p. 254.

<sup>e</sup> I can see no reasonable grounds for accepting Prof. Tomaschek's conjecture (in the teeth of all the MSS.), that the word is a corruption of *Salviis* (*Vorslawische Topographie*, &c. p. 19), or the suggestion of



venture to suggest that the alternative forms "*Βαγγεις*" and "*Βαλκης*" simply represent a late Latin "*Balneis*" or "*Bagneis*," the Italian *Bagni*. The Roman word in its singular form *Balnea* has supplied the present Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Illyricum with the word "*Banja*," universally applied to places where hot springs exist, and the thermal source and remains of the Roman bath-building at *Banjaluca* give the word a peculiar significance in connexion with the great highway from Pannonia to the Dalmatian coast, which, as has been already pointed out, passed by that position. In the *Tabula Banjaluka* appears as *Castra*,<sup>a</sup> but by the sixth century the town may have already begun to bear the vulgar Latin name that it has preserved to this day. Geographically, this identification squares well with the course of this Avar invasion, and, indeed, from a military point of view, the position holds the key to the northern end of the line of passes through which the Roman road ran after leaving the lowlands of the Save.

This Roman highroad was thus already in the fifth and sixth centuries an avenue at once of barbarian invasion and of civilised exodus towards the sunny shores of the Adriatic. Eight centuries after the time of Attila the descendants of the very hordes that had driven forth the Romans from the Pannonian cities were forced to flee from Mongols more savage than themselves, and the abiding traces and traditions that I have been able to point out serve to show that it was by this same Roman road-line that King Bela and the remnants of the Hungarian chivalry sought their Dalmatian City of Refuge. It is interesting to notice that on the site of Salonæ, and in its local successor Spalato, monumental records both of the later and of the earlier catastrophes have been preserved to us. At Salonæ, beneath the floor of the Roman-Christian basilica, there was recently discovered, above a violated tomb, a marble slab erected to the memory of the infant daughter of some high-born Roman, "who was brought," the inscription tells us, "from Sirmium to Salonæ" (fig. 6\*):<sup>b</sup>—

DEPOSETIO INFANTIS  
DOMNICAE XII KALEN  
DAS OCTOBREIS QVAE A SIRMI  
O SALONAS ADVCTA EST

Dr. Hoernes (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, &c. vol. ii. p. 134), that "*Salvia*" (in most MSS. "*Silvia*") and "*Balbeis*" are alternative names for the same place.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the *AD LADIOS* of Antoninus.

<sup>b</sup> This monument is at present in the Museum at Spalato, and has been described by Dr. Glavinić.





Written in a style and letters that proclaim the age of Attila, the simple record, "*Quæ a Sirmio Salonas aducta est,*" speaks for itself. Side by side with this

Fig. 6\*. ROMAN CHRISTIAN SEPULCHRAL SLAB.  
From the Christian Basilica, Salona.

Salonitan memorial to this tender victim of the Huns and their associates may be set a monument formerly existing outside the Cathedral Church at Spalato, reared to the memory of the two young princesses, daughters of King Bela, who succumbed at Clissa to the hardships and terrors of the flight from the Tatars, and whose bodies were carried to Spalato :<sup>a</sup>—

CATHARINA INCLYTA ET FVLGENS MARGARITA  
IN HOC ARCTO TVMVLO IACENT ABSQVE VITA  
BELLE IIII FILIE REGIS HUNGARORVM  
ET MARIE LASCARI REGINE GRECORVM  
AB IMPIIS TARTARIS FVERVNT FVGATE  
MORTVE IN CLISSIO HVC SPALETVM TRANSLATE.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Thomas Archidiaconus, *op. cit.* c. xl. "Mortuæ sunt duæ puellæ virgines, scilicet filiæ regis Belæ et in ecclesia B. Domnis honorificè tumulatæ."

Lucius, who gives this inscription in his notes to Thomas Archid. (in *De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatia*, Frankfort, 1666, p. 473), adds, "Gulielmus quoque, Belæ ex filia nepos, in hac eadem fuga mortuus, Tragurii sepultus fuit." The epitaph of this prince formerly existing at Traù is given by the same author in his Memorials of that city. It contained the lines,

"Arcente denique barbaro perverso  
Infinitis Tartaris marte sub adverso,  
Quartum Belam prosequens ejus consobrinum  
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum."

The roads, the course of which I have been hitherto attempting to investigate, were of considerable importance as the highways of communication between the Dalmatian capital and the great Adriatic emporium of Aquileja, the key of Italy, on the one side and on the other between it and the imperial Pannonian cities, Siscia and Sirmium. From Salonæ onwards another main line of thoroughfare was opened out along the lateral valleys of the Dinaric ranges to Scodra and Dyrrhachium, where it joined the famed Egnatian Way and the Greek and Macedonian road system.

The course of this road—which forms, in fact, a continuation of the land route connecting the Italian cities with Athens and Thessalonica—has been ascertained with tolerable precision as far as the next important Dalmatian centre, Narona.

From Salonæ the road ran inland, past the key-fortress of Klissa, the Κλεισα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that closes the mountain-pass conducting towards the Vale of the Cettina. That river, the ancient Tilurus, it reached at a bridge-station called from it Pons Tiluri, or Tilurium, the name of which still survives in that of the modern village of Trilj, near which, at a spot called Gardun, the ancient site is still distinctly visible.

Here, on the right bank of the Cettina, was discovered an important inscription referring to the restoration of the Roman bridge over the river by the citizens of Novæ, Delminium, and Rider, in the name of the Emperor Commodus.\* The site of two of these cities has been fixed with certainty. Rider,<sup>b</sup> the Municipium Riditarum, was an important Illyrian staple near the present coast-town of Sebenico, the mediæval commercial relations of which with the interior it seems to have anticipated. The site of Novæ we shall pass at Runović, on the high road to Narona. The position of Delminium, the historic stronghold which

\* IMP · CARS || M. AVRELIVS || COMMODVS || ANTONINVS || AVG · PIVS · SARM || GERM · MAXIMVS || BRITTAN-  
NICUS || PONT · MAX · TRIB || POT · VIII · IMP · VI || COS · IIII · P · P || PONTEM · HIPPI FLVM || NIS · VETVSTATE  
CORRVPTVM RESTITVIT || SVPTVM ET OPERAS || SVBMINISTRANTIBVS || NOVENSIVS DELMI || NENSIVS  
RIDITIS · CVRANTE · ET · DEDICANTE || L · IVNIO · RVFINO · PROCVLIANO · LEG · PR · PR · (C. I. L. iii. 3202.)  
This inscription was discovered by Dr. Carrara and first published in the *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1815. The name of Commodus had been defaced in accordance with the orders of the Senate recorded by Lampridius.

<sup>b</sup> The form in which it appears in Ravennas, the only geographer who mentions it. He gives it (5, 14) as the last station before reaching Scardona, on the road from Tragurion (Träü). Its actual site was at St. Danilo near Sebenico. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2767, &c.)





gave its name to the dominant Dalmatian race,\* is more difficult to determine. Earlier writers had no hesitation in looking for it beyond the Prolog range that overhangs the Cettina Valley to the north, in the plain of Duvno, the mediæval name of which, *Dulmno*, is derived unquestionably from an Illyro-Roman form *Dalmino*;<sup>b</sup> and where, on the heights of Županjac, Roman remains have been discovered. On the other hand, the occurrence of the name on the inscription relating to the Cettina bridge, coupled with the existence of considerable Roman remains on the height of Gardun, has led the most recent authorities to fix here the site of Delminium.<sup>c</sup> Mommsen argues with some force that the bridge must have been comprised in the territory of one of the three cities that bore the expense of its restoration; that we know that neither the Novenses nor the Reditæ embraced the Cettina valley in their district, and that, hence, it follows that the bridge lay in the territory of Delminium,<sup>d</sup> which he fixes at the site of Gardun. Professor Tomaschek, judging by the general range of the campaign that preceded the capture of this famous Dalmatian stronghold by Figulus, in 156 B.C. had been already led to seek its site in the Cettina valley;<sup>e</sup> and Professor Glavinić, of Spalato, who shares this view, has traced to his own satisfaction both the line of the walls of the original Illyrian city and the more restricted circumvallation of the Roman town, as rebuilt after the capture by Figulus and Scipio Nasica.<sup>f</sup>

Still, it must be observed that the simple fact that Figulus took Naronā as his base in his campaign against Delminium does not by any means exclude its having been situated on the Duvno plain. The actual distance from Naronā to Duvno is considerably less than that from Naronā to Gardun, and a route might be chosen presenting few serious obstacles.<sup>g</sup> The evidence

\* "Πόλιν Δελμίνιον ὄθεν ἀπὸ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δαλματίας εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐκράτη." Appian, *Illyr.* ii. Cf. Strabo. vii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> The variant forms of the name occur: *Delminum*, *Dalmis*, *Dalmion*, *Delmion*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Prof. W. Tomaschek, *Die voralawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora, und der angrenzenden Gebiete* (Wien, 1880). (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 9. The Catholic bishopric that existed here in the fourteenth century was still known as *Ep. Delmensis* or *Dulmensis*.

<sup>d</sup> C. I. L. iii. p. 858, s. v. DELMINIUM.

<sup>e</sup> *Die voralawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora und der angrenzenden Gebiete*. (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 10.

<sup>f</sup> *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 28.

<sup>g</sup> What is extremely pertinent in this regard, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that the "Župa of Dalen," the form given by him to the old Slavonic Dulmno (Duvno), belonged to the Pagani or Narentans: a fact which shows a certain facility of inter-communication between the inland plain of Duvno and the



again of the Itineraries is against Delminium having stood at Gardun, which answers to the station Tilurium or Pons Tiluri, a name as we have seen still perpetuated by the neighbouring village of Trilj. It is further noteworthy that, admitting that the ancient Delminium stood in the district which still preserves its name, the routes from Delminium and Novæ towards the port of the Reditæ would converge just at the point where the bridge was constructed. The name Delminium is absent in the Tabula and Itineraries, yet we know that it continued to survive from the fact that in the Second Provincial Council of Salonæ, A.D. 532, we find mention of an *Episcopus Delminensis Montanorum*,<sup>a</sup> a bishop, that is, whose district embraced what was then a mountain-girt territory, taking its name from the ancient city which itself, probably, was already in ruins. This sixth century "Delminian Weald" reappears in Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>b</sup> four centuries later as the Župa of Dalen, the Dulmno or Duvno of later Slavonic records; and the Presbyter of Dioclea, who composed his *Regnum Slavorum* (woven for the most part out of earlier Sagas) at Antivari in the twelfth century, places the fabled Synod of King Svatopluk on "the Plain of Dalma."<sup>c</sup> In the other version of this earliest Serbian Chronicle, that, namely, discovered in the Kraina and translated into Latin from the original Slav by Marcus Marulus in 1510, the King's name appears as Budimir, and the place of the great Moot is expressly mentioned as on the site of the ruins of Delminium. These traditions are at least valuable as showing the continued living on of the old Illyrian city-name on the Duvno plain in an ecclesiastical connexion; and this is further brought out by Thomas, the Archdeacon of Spalato, who, writing in the thirteenth century, speaks of Duvno as *Delmina*, and as containing the site of the ancient city *Delmis*. He further tells us that in his day there was still to be seen here a church with an inscription recording its dedication by St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua,<sup>d</sup> who, as we learn from other sources, was sent

Narenta Valley. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 80.) Dr. Kukuljević, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, pt. I. p. 86, note, agrees in identifying the Zupa of "Dalen" with Duvno.

<sup>a</sup> Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 178.

<sup>b</sup> *Loc. cit.* The geographical details of Constantine regarding Dalmatia and its borderlands are peculiarly valuable, and seem to have been supplied by trustworthy native informants; not improbably Ragusan patricians, amongst whom was a Byzantine *Protospatharius*. Constantine's words are: "ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δαλανοῦ (Ζουπανία) μετέθεν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ζῶσι τῆς γῆς."

<sup>c</sup> "In planitie Dalmæ," Diocleas, *Regnum Slavorum* (in *Lucius de Regno Dalmatiae*, &c. Frankfort, 1666, p. 289.)

<sup>d</sup> Marci Maruli, *Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta* (in *Lucius, op. cit.* p. 306).

<sup>e</sup> *Historia Salonitana*, cap. xiii. "Istaque fuerunt Regni eorum (sc. regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae)





by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople in 509 A.D.\* This is certainly an indication that the bishopric of Delminium, mentioned in the Council-Acts of Salona of A.D. 532, should be sought on the plain of Duvno, where in Thomas's days this ancient basilica was still standing. From the early part of the fourteenth century (1337) onwards we again hear of a regular series of bishops of Duvno, *Episcopi Delmenses*.<sup>b</sup>

The Roman monuments themselves discovered on the Gardun site supply strong negative evidence that the city that existed there was rather a Roman foundation than a great native centre. They are almost purely of a legionary character. On the other hand, if we examine the monuments discovered on the site of the Municipium of the Reditæ, which appears from the inscription relating to the bridge to have been the maritime outlet of the old Dalmatian capital, we find a very large proportion of pure Illyrian names, such as Panto, Madocus, Tritano, Aplo, Bæzo, Vendo, Pladomenus, and if we turn to another inland example of an important native site, the old Illyrian hill-stronghold of St. Ilija, near Plevlje, we are again struck with the great preponderance of native names, the bulk of which are absolutely identical with those that occur on the monuments of the Reditæ. So remarkable, indeed, are the coincidences that we are reduced to infer that a strong commercial bond of some kind linked these two sufficiently remote Illyrian centres. How much the more must this community of names have existed between the Reditæ and the comparatively neighbouring Delminenses, whose cities, moreover, we know from the Gardun inscription to have been connected by commerce as well as by the affinities of race. And yet we are asked to believe that a site characterised rather by an absence of Dalmatian names was that of the city which gave its name to the Dalmatian race.

From all these considerations I am led, the high authority of Mommsen notwithstanding, to seek the site of Delminium on the more inland plain that still preserves a corruption of its name. Von Hahn's derivation of the name Delminium, as suggested by Albanian parallels, from an Illyrian word signifying a sheep-pasture,<sup>c</sup> fits in well with the character of the Duvno Polje, and this

confinia, ab Oriente Delmina ubi fuit civitas Delmis in qua est quedam Ecclesia quam B. Germanus Capuanus Episcopus consecravit sicut scriptum reperitur in ea."

\* Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 169.

<sup>b</sup> Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iv. p. 168 *seqq.* From 1685 onwards the diocese was placed under Vicars Apostolic.

<sup>c</sup> *Albanesische Studien*, p. 232. Hahn is of opinion that Delminium answers to a Gheg Albanian form *delvin-ua* = sheep-fold, or sheep-pasture. He further compares the name of the Dalmatian city with that of the two Epirote towns *Delvino* and *Delvinaki*.

pastoral origin would explain the statement of Strabo\* that Scipio Nasica made the plain a sheep pasture at the same time that he reduced the size of the town.

Whether or not, however, the Roman city that stood on the site of Gardun bore any earlier name than that of Tilurium, under which it appears in the *Itineraries*, it is certain that the remains of an aqueduct and of an amphitheatre attest the former existence at this spot of a station of considerable importance. Gems and other minor antiquities are discovered here in great abundance, and a carnelian intaglio representing the head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius procured by me from this site is one of the most exquisite examples of Roman portraiture with which I am acquainted.

Beyond the bridge station of the Tilurus traces of the road have been detected,<sup>b</sup> running from Vadrine, on the left bank of the river, past the village of Budimir, and along the vale of Cista to Lovreč,<sup>c</sup> and thence to Runović, on the skirts of the plain of Imoski. Here was the site of an important Municipium, the identification of which with the AD NOVAS of the *Tabula* is established by the discovery at this spot of inscriptions referring to the *Novenses*.<sup>d</sup> Here were found two altars dedicated to Jove and the Genius of the Municipium, and other inscriptions referring to the local *IUVIRI* and Decurions. The remains of baths and of tasteful mosaic pavements attest the prosperity of the Roman town; and the Christian *Basilica* of the Municipium Novense is mentioned as late as 532 A.D. The bridge over the Cettina, in the construction of which, as we have seen, the inhabitants of this city participated,<sup>e</sup> must have been of the highest importance to the *Novenses*, as improving their communication with the North Dalmatian ports.

Beyond Runović the Roman road crosses the watershed into the upper

\* *Geog.* vii. 5: "Δάμιον δὲ μεγάλη πόλις ἦν ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος μικρὰν δ' ἐποίησε Νασικᾶς καὶ τὸ πιδίον μελέβορον διὰ τὴν πλειονεσίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 54. A. K. Matas, *Prinos za istraživanje tragova rimskih puteva u Dalmaciji* ("A contribution towards investigating the traces of the Roman roads in Dalmatia"), in the *Viestnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga Društva*, 1880, p. 32, mentions an alternative route along the right bank of the Cettina, but omits to specify the evidence on which his statements rest.

<sup>c</sup> According to Prof. Glavinić, *loc. cit.* traces of a Roman road are to be seen running from Lovreč to the Western part of the plain of Duvno.

<sup>d</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1892, 1908, 1909, 1910.

<sup>e</sup> *Acta Concilii ii. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.





valley of the Tihaljina or Trebižat, where remains of it are still to be traced near the village of Neždravica and elsewhere, running along the left bank of the river.\*

The next station along the road that can be determined with certainty is Bigeste, the last station before reaching Naronā. The ruins of this city are visible at Gradčine and Humac, near the Herzegovinian town of Ljubuški, still in the valley of the river Trebižat, and the foundations of a Roman bridge that spanned the river at this point are still preserved.<sup>b</sup> Several inscriptions have been discovered on this site, two of them recording the restoration of a temple and portico of Liber Pater by officers of the 1st and 11th Legions;<sup>c</sup> and a milestone, now, unfortunately, no longer to be seen, is said to have been found near the village of Humac.

To the inscriptions from this site I am able to add the following, a copy of which I obtained from the Pravoslav Kalugjer of Ljubuški, Kristofor Milutinović. It was found near Ljubuški, in January last, and exists at present near the Serbian church. (See fig. 7\*.)

The auxiliary cohort of the *Lucenses* to which this *Eques* belonged was from Lucus Augusti, the present Lugo, in Gallæcia. There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of the 1st cohort of the Lucenses in Pannonia,<sup>d</sup> in the year 80 A.D.; and there are references to the second and fifth Lucensian cohorts in other Illyrian military diplomas of the first and second century.<sup>e</sup> The name *Andaminius* has, as might be expected, a Celtic ring, recalling the *Andoco(mius)* and *Amminus* of British coins. *Andes* occurs as an indigenous Dalmatian name.

Between the site of Bigeste<sup>f</sup> and Naronā the Roman road is distinctly trace-

\* Dr. Glavinić traced its course in 1856 from Runović past the villages of Ploče and Drinovce to the Upper Tihaljina. *Bullettino*, loc. cit. Cf. Dr. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien u. der Herzegovina*, Berlin, 1877, c. 42.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Hoernes, *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien u. der Herzegovina* in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, vol. iv. p. 37 seqq.

<sup>c</sup> C. I. L. iii. 6362, 6363, one of A.D. 173.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the *Diploma of Vespasian*, C. I. L. iii. D. xi.

<sup>e</sup> II LVCENSIVM, C. I. L. iii. D. xxi. in *Mossia* A. 105: V. LVCIENSIVM ET CALLAECORVM. A. 60 in *Illyricum*. D. ii.: A. 85 in *Pannonia* D. xii.: in *Pannonia Superior* D. xxxix. In the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (Occ. xlii. 29) is mentioned the *Tribunus Cohortis Lucensis, Lugo*.

<sup>f</sup> From the occurrence of Roman remains at a succession of localities (Vitina, Kreindvor, Studenci, Gradnić, Čerin, Kruška), between Ljubuški and the Vale of Mostar, Dr. Hoernes conjectures that on this side a road branched off from Bigeste to the valley of the Narenta. (Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 42).



able, being, indeed, in parts so well preserved that, if cleared of bushes, it might still be useful for traffic.\* The natives, without taking in the meaning of their words,

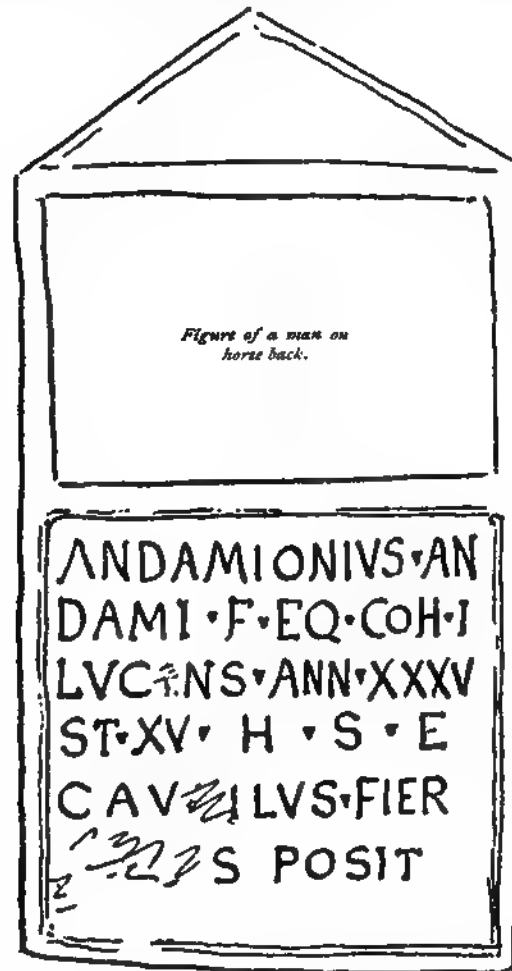


Fig. 7\*. FROM LJUBUŠKI, HERZEGOVINA, THE ANCIENT BICESTE.

still repeat a tradition, that it leads from "Solin to Norin," in other words, from Salona to Naronā. They call it *Sekulan* or "Janko's Road," from a supposed connexion with the feats of the latter-day Illyrian hero, John Hunniades, the *Deli Janko* of South-Slavonic epic. At distances respectively of one and two miles from Viddo, the site of Naronā, the bases of two Roman milestones are still in position.

The site of the important Dalmatian city of Naronā has been better explored than most. One hundred and twenty-six inscriptions from this spot have been

\* Glavinić, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Commission*, &c. 1880, p. xciii.





published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,\* and others have been added more recently by Professor Glavinić, being the result of excavations conducted at this spot on behalf of the Central Commission at Vienna.<sup>b</sup> The early existence of an Illyrian staple on the lower Narenta may be gathered from the passage of Theopompos of Chios, already cited;<sup>c</sup> and the fact signalized by Prof. Mommsen, that here alone among Dalmatian sites have been discovered Roman inscriptions of the age of the Republic, indicates that a Roman mercantile plantation had been established here at a period considerably anterior to the "deduction" hither, about the time of Augustus, of a colony of Veterans.

The chief remains are situate on a conical hill,<sup>d</sup> the existing village on which owes its name, *Viddo*, to a divinity of the Narentine Slavs,—the *Pagani* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Here, probably, was the *Castra* or citadel of *Narona*, of which Vatinus speaks in his letter, addressed to Cicero from this city;<sup>e</sup> the rest of the town lying in terraces on the mountain theatre behind.

A number of beautiful objects found on this site, besides the inscriptions recording the erection of temples and public baths by local benefactors, attest the former opulence of this Illyrian city. In the course of his recent excavations Professor Glavinić discovered here an amethystine glass bowl of exquisite fabric, and from the occurrence of glass tumblers of that late thorn-bossed kind,<sup>f</sup> which in the West we are apt to associate with Frankish and Saxon sepulture, we may infer that here, as at Doclea further to the South, glass manufacture continued till a very late date; at least, it is difficult to imagine that such fragile wares as I have seen excavated at *Narona* were transported from any great distance. It is possible that the Ostro-gothic chiefs in Dalmatia, like their Teutonic kinsmen of the West, patronised this curious excrescence of late-Roman luxury.

The smaller glass bottles and so-called lachrymatories, so common on this site, have a special interest in their connexion with a local product. Pliny tells us that only two unguents of the royal Persian kind are produced in Europe, the

\* C. I. L. iii. p. 291 *seqq.* and p. 1029.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, &c. *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv. p. 86 *seqq.*

<sup>c</sup> See p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Glavinić, *Mittheilungen*, &c. 1880, p. xciv.

<sup>e</sup> "Vatinus Imp. Ciceroni . . . ex castris *Narona*." (*Ad. Fam.* v. ep. 9.) Vatinus complains of the Dalmatian winter.

<sup>f</sup> A specimen seen by me at Metcovich, and found at Viddo on the site of *Narona*, was precisely similar in form to tumblers found in Kent, in the Saxon cemetery at Fairford, in the Frankish graves at Selzen in Rhenish Hesse, in Normandy, and elsewhere. Cf. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. li. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i. Heft xi. t. 7, &c.

Illyrian *Iris* and the Gallic spikenard.\* The best quality of *Iris* grew, he tells, in the wooded interior about the Drin and the city of Naronæ. The mouths of the Naron or Narenta,<sup>b</sup> on which this city lay, and the Drin, had already been celebrated for this herb by Nikander in his *Theriaca*,<sup>c</sup> and the naturalist Theophrastos<sup>d</sup> yields the palm to the Illyrian *Iris*. The flower from whose root the spikenard was prepared is abundant throughout all this region, and its rainbow petals may still be seen lighting up the ruins of Naronæ. To the natives it is known as *Mačić*, a translation of the Latin word *Gladiolus*,<sup>e</sup> but also as *Perunika*,<sup>f</sup> suggestive of the name of the old Slavonic Thunder-god Perun, and thus attesting the abiding veneration in which the herb was held. We may perhaps reasonably infer that many of these Naronitan *unguentaria* contained the precious balm

for which the neighbouring Illyrian wilds were so early famous, and which was exported, as may be gathered from Pliny's reference, to the other provinces of the Empire. In this connexion I may mention an *unguentarium*, recently obtained by me on the site of the ancient Salonæ, which seems to show that that luxurious Dalmatian city was not content with perfumes of native origin. It is a small crystal bottle of a form suggestive of Oriental influences, and was no doubt one of those precious *crystalla*, or crystal vessels imported, as Martial<sup>g</sup> tells us, by the Nile fleet (fig. 7\*):—Alexandria, being then the channel by which the products of India and the furthest East reached Italy and the West. I obtained the *unguentarium* on the spot from a peasant who had dug it up with other Roman remains in his *campagna* within the circuit of the ancient walls. It is not improbable that it formed part of the

Fig. 7\*.  
CRYSTALLUM FROM SALONÆ. contents of a late-Roman grave; a variety of crystal vessels were found in the sarcophagus of Maria, the child-bride of Honorius,

\* "Ergo regale unguentum appellatur quoniam regibus Parthorum ita temperatur . . . . Nihilque ejus rei causa in Italia victrice omnium, in Europa vero tota, præter irim Illyricam et nardum Gallicum gignitur." (*H. N.* lib. xiii. c. 2.)

<sup>b</sup> "Iris . . . . laudatissima in Illyrico et ibi quoque non in maritimis sed in silvestribus Drilonis et Naronæ." (*H. N.* lib. xxi. c. 19.) Pliny here names the city *Naronæ* and not the river *Naron*.

<sup>c</sup> "Ἴριον θ' ἦν ἰσχυρὰ ἀρωγὴν καὶ Νάρωνος δόκη.".

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. Plant.* lib. ix. c. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. the French word for *Iris*, *Glacul*.

<sup>f</sup> Also as *Bogiša*, from *Bog* = God.

<sup>g</sup> xii. 74, "Cum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplas.".





brought to light during some excavations at St. Peter's in 1544,<sup>a</sup> and, in the fifth century, Salonæ, the last refuge of Empire in the West, rivalled Rome and Ravenna themselves in the dignity of her interments.

Among the objects obtained by myself from Naronæ are two marble heads, one of a Roman lady, the style of whose *coiffure* appears best to tally with that of the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius, the Empress Galeria Valeria, though the workmanship would seem to belong to a better age; the other head is of Mercury, and is executed in a fine Græco-Roman style. The cult of Mercury was specially popular at Naronæ, as is witnessed by an altar and another dedicatory inscription,<sup>b</sup> both raised by the Seviri Augustales, who add to their titles on several more of the local inscriptions the letters M.M. interpreted to mean *Magistri Mercuriales*.<sup>c</sup>

On the same occasion I procured the handle and part of the blade of a sacrificial knife (see Pl. II.), the use of which was possibly not unconnected with the sacral functions of these Naronese Seviri. The blade of this knife is of iron, the hilt of bronze, circled with an interlaced palmetto ornament, and terminating in a griffin's head of considerable spirit. The Roman sacrificial knife seems to have been of various forms and materials, and Festus<sup>d</sup> tells us of the gold and ivory handle of the "*secespita*" used by the flamens and pontifices at Rome. The present example answers exactly to a common form of the sacrificial knife as seen associated with other sacrificial utensils on ancient monuments. This monumental form, like the Naronese knife, is of great breadth in proportion to its length, and the handles, as in the present instance, terminate in the heads of animals such as lions and eagles.



Fig. 7†.

TURQUOISE RING  
FROM NARONÆ.

Engraved gems are plentiful among the ruins of Naronæ, and I acquired a ring of peculiar form and material (fig. 7†). It is carved out of a single pale Turquoise, the highly valued *Sapphirus* of the Ancients, and has engraved upon it in high relief a two-winged insect resembling a moth with folded wings.

The coins that have passed through my hands from this site range from Dyrrhachian silver pieces of the third century B.C. to

<sup>a</sup> Luc. Faunus, *de Antiquitatibus Urbis Romæ*, c. x. Cf. King, *National History of Gems or semi-precious Stones*, p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1792, 1793.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291.

<sup>d</sup> *Ad. Virg. Æn.* iv. 262. Festus' words are: "*Secespitam esse Antistius Labeo ait cultrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum auro argentoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio: quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontificesque ad sacrificia utuntur.*" On Consular coins the instrument of sacrifice generally appears as an axe.



the fifth century of our era. Consular *denarii* and coins of the early Empire are abundant; the latest piece that I have noticed is of the Emperor Anastasius.

With reference to the early Greek mercantile connexion with the Narenta valley, the name of Trappano, a little town on the peninsula of Sabbioncello, opposite the Narenta mouth, suggests a Hellenic origin. Its peninsular position was precisely such as the old Greek colonists on the Illyrian coast were prone to choose for their plantations, and it would stand to the Illyrian staple of Naronæ in the same relation as the Greek settlement on the isle of Issa stood to the staple of Salonæ. The name of Drepanon, or "the sickle," seems to have been commonly applied by Greek settlers to similar promontories, and the horn of rock which here runs into the sea presents analogies with the Cretan Dhrépano and the Sicilian Trapani. At Trappano itself the stranger hears of antiquities at every turn. Below the town is a tower known to the inhabitants as Cæsar's Palace, but a very slight examination convinced me of its mediæval origin. The same is probably true of the remains of the castle on the hill, but I observed a cistern and a wall with narrow bricks and tiles alternating with masonry, that certainly seemed to be of Roman construction. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and I was informed that, two and a-half years since, in making the new road, some beautifully-wrought marbles, including several inscriptions, were brought to light and at once broken up for road material. It is to be observed, as explaining the apparently Hellenic origin of Trappano, that it lies on the natural transit route across the peninsula of Sabbioncello, between the ancient emporium of the Narenta and the port of Curzola, the *Κέρκυρα μέλαινα*, or Black Corcyra, of the ancients, one of the earliest Greek island colonies on the Illyrian shore, and which must have stood to the mainland staple of Naronæ in the same economic relation as that in which Issa and Pharia stood to Salonæ. At the present day the communications between Curzola and Metcovich, the modern local representative of Naronæ, follows this line.

Up to Naronæ the general direction, at times even the exact course, of the great Dalmatian-Macedonian highway is well ascertained. The distances from Salonæ and Naronæ of the three identified stations, Pons Tiluri, Ad Novas, and Bigeste fit in well with the numbers of the *Itinerary* and *Tabula*;<sup>\*</sup> and the total distance given—83 or 84 Roman miles—squares equally well with the actual

<sup>\*</sup> Adding on in the case of the *Tabula* the omitted distance of xiii. m. p.





distance from Viddo, the site of Naronæ, *viâ* Ljubuški, Runović, and Trilj, to the site of Salonæ, and at the same time approximates within a mile to Pliny's calculation.\*

From Naronæ onwards to the neighbourhood of Scodra all is as dark and uncertain as it was clear before; and the last writer who has attempted to elucidate the problem, Dr. Hoernes,<sup>b</sup> in despair of reconciling the distances given with the probable localities of the stations, throws over the numbers supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* altogether.

It must be observed, however, that, with the exception of a single omission in the *Tabula*, which Antonine enables us to supply, we have up to this point had every reason to rely on the mileage given by our two authorities; and that the sum of the mileage given between Naronæ and Scodra, 172 m.p. is very much what we should expect to find it. Admitting that we have lost our compass, that is no reason for throwing away our measuring-rod as well.

Hitherto, for the whole distance, Naronæ—Scodra, there has been no intermediate fixed point to guide us in our inquiry. In the course of my explorations of the Herzegovinian ranges that lie inland to the north-east of the site of Epitaurum, I have come upon some Roman remains which may help to supply this desideratum. In order, however, to show what I believe to be the full bearing of these new materials on the question at issue, I may be allowed to examine the whole subject from a point of view which appears to me to have been hitherto too little regarded.

Before proceeding further with this investigation, it may be well to give a comparative table of the route Naronæ—Scodra, as given by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine.

<i>Itinerary.</i>	<i>Tabula.</i>
NARONA . . . . .	NARONA
	XII°
XXV	AD TVBRES
	XIII
DALLVNTO . . . . .	DILVNTO
	XIII

\* lxxxv. m. p.

<sup>b</sup> *Alterthümer der Hercegovina und der südlichen Theile Bosniens*, vol. ii. p. 146.

<sup>c</sup> Accepting the correction of the xxii. given, in order to square with the xxv. m.p. given by Antonine as the distance, Naronæ—Dallunto.

<i>Itinerary.</i>		<i>Tabula.</i>	
XL		PARDVA	
		XVI	AD ZIZIO
		VIII	XXVIII
LEVSINIO . . . . .		LEVSINIO	ASAMO
		XII	XX
XXVIII		SALLVNT0	EPITAVRO
		XVII	
ANDERBA . . . . .		ANDERVA	
		VI	
XVIII		VARIS	
		XI	
SALLVNT0 . . . . .		SALLVNT0	
XVII		XVII	
ALATA . . . . .		HALATA	
X		X	
BIRZIMINIO . . . . .		BERSVMNO	
XVIII		XVI	
CINNA . . . . .		SINNA	
XII		XX	
SCODRA . . . . .		SCODRA	

It will be seen that the Roman road from Naronā to Scodra (the modern *Scutari d'Albania*), as given in the *Tabula*, forks at a point called Ad Zizio into two branches, one of which leads through the interior of the country to Scodra, the other runs to Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), and follows thence the coast-line to Butua and Lissus (Alessio).

Hitherto, owing mainly to an expression of the Geographer of Ravenna, it has been assumed that the earlier part of this route, the route common to the two lines of communication, followed the coast-line from Naronā. This conclusion I am altogether unable to accept.

Ravennas, in a confused list of Dalmatian cities, all of which, according to his statement, are on the sea-coast,\* adds after Epitaurum, "id est: Ragusium,"

\* Lib. iv. c. 16: "Attamen Dalmatiæ plurimas fuisse civitates legimus ex quibus aliquas designare volumus quæ ponuntur per litus maris, id est: Burzumi, Aleta, Saluntum, Butua, Decadoron, Buccinum, Rucinum, Epitaurum id est Ragusium, Asamon, Zidion, Pardua id est Starnes, Turres, Narrona," &c.





—"Asamon, Zidion, Pardua, id est Stamnes, Turres, Narrona." The order of the names between Epitaurum and Naronæ shows an agreement with the *Tabula*, "Dilunto" alone being omitted, and the identification of Epitaurum with the site of Ragusa, by Ravennas' time already a famous city, being correct within a few miles, it is inferred that Ravennas is an equally good authority for the approximate identification of Pardua with "Stamnes," or Stagno, a town situate on the neck of the peninsula of Sabbioncello.

On the other hand it is equally probable that the Geographer of Ravenna, knowing the order of some of the most famous towns on the other side of the Adriatic, as they existed in his day, and knowing the connexion between Ragusa and Epitaurum (a fact which, as Ragusa Vecchia preserved the name of Pitaur to a much later date, must have been tolerably notorious), proceeded further to identify Stagno, the next modern seaport known to him, midway between Ragusa and the mouth of the Narenta, with what on the ancient chart from which he drew was the middle station between Epitaurum and Naronæ. Considering the grotesque blunders with which his list begins, placing "*in ipso litore maris*" three cities which lie, beyond all contestation, in the central glens of what is now Montenegro, the fact that Ravennas places Pardua, Asamon and Zidion (the *AD ZIZIO* of the *Tabula*), on the coast, can prove nothing as to their real position, and the situation of Stagno lying on a peninsula, off the line of any possible coast road, makes its identification with any station on the line Naronæ—Scodra highly improbable. Stagno derives its name from the *Stagnum* or shallow lagune of sea, whence from time immemorial salt has been obtained by evaporation. In Constantine Porphyrogenitus it appears already as *Stagnum*,\* but there are no remains either on this site, or anywhere within miles of it, of Roman habitation.

To prove that the earlier stages of the great line Naronæ—Scodra lay along the Adriatic coast requires something more than a random statement of a writer like Ravennas. The *Tabula*, which from its distorted form can rarely be appealed to with confidence as to the exact direction of a road, observes in this case a judicious neutrality. The line of stations between Naronæ and the point of junction at *Ad Zizio* are represented as filling a narrow strip between the Narenta

\* *Σταγών*. It is difficult to understand why Professor Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 36, should go out of his way to suggest a derivation for the word "Entweder aus einem vorauszusetzendem illyr. Worte *Stamen*, -*Maul*, *Rachen*, *Hals*, oder aus Gr. *στέν*, -*Enge*." The mediæval Latin form *Stamnuni*, like the *Stamnes* of Ravennas, is simply a corruption of *Stagnum*, and it is to be observed that these forms illustrate a Rouman characteristic, cf. Latin *Signum*, Wallachian *Semnu*, &c. The Slavonic abbreviation of the name is *Ston*.



(which is made to run parallel to the sea from East to West)\* and the Adriatic. The road itself is not indicated till we reach Ad Zizio. In this chart Naronæ itself is placed on the sea, from which in reality it was distant about fifteen miles, and it is to be observed that the name of the next station, Ad Turres, has an inland tendency.

All *à priori* considerations should make us look for the course of the great highway between Naronæ and Scodra inland from the beginning. The road itself ought not to be regarded as if it was a merely local line, or series of local lines constructed for the convenience of the citizens of Naronæ, Epitaurum, or other individual cities. The only right way of regarding it is as a section of the highly important through route connecting the great city of Salonæ with Dyrrhachium, in a still wider sense connecting Italy with Greece. The main object of the highway Naronæ—Scodra was to open out the shortest land route between Dalmatia and Epirus, and we may be sure that all local considerations were subordinated to this aim.

We may assume, then, that the military engineer who superintended the construction of the section Naronæ—Scodra endeavoured to follow as direct a line between these two cities as the physical configuration of the country admitted. A straight line from Scodra to Naronæ would pass through Risinium on the inmost inlet of what is now the Bocche di Cattaro, but the intervening mass of the Black Mountain, in a less degree the Lake of Scutari itself, would prevent the route from taking anything like a direct course.

The mountain mass of what is now South-Western Montenegro has, in fact, in all historical times, operated to deflect the traffic between Albania and Dalmatia (to use the geographical language of more modern times) from its direct course, and the valley of the Zeta, that leads from the lacustrine basin of Scutari to the plain of Nikšić, must in all ages have been the avenue of communication between the North-West and South-East. From Scodra, therefore, to what is now the plain of Nikšić, the course of the Roman road was dictated by physical conditions, as cogent in ancient days as they are now. So far, indeed, all who have endeavoured to trace the course of this Roman highway are agreed. Whatever its subsequent direction, it must have run from Scutari, along the eastern shores

\* A little to the west of the Narenta mouth the Drina is made to run into the Adriatic, coalescing in some strange way with the Cettina. The promontory of Sabbioncello is not so much as indicated. On the other hand the outline of the coast and islands in the neighbourhood of Salonæ has much greater pretensions to exactness.





of the lake between lake and mountains, it must have followed the Zeta Valley, and it must have debouched on the spacious plain of Nikšić.

As on this side we are, by all accounts, on certain ground, it may be well to take Scodra as our starting point and work backwards awhile along the shores of the lake and up the Zeta Valley to the plain of Nikšić. The position of Scodra itself lying between the river outlet of the lake and a branch of the Drin has been of considerable strategic and commercial importance in all times of which we have any record. Its rocky Acropolis, which forms the key of the whole lacustrine basin, was the royal stronghold of the most important of the Illyrian dynasties, and after its capture, together with the Illyrian king Genthios, by L. Anicius in 167 B.C., it became a Roman administrative centre and the appointed place for the *Conventus* of the native chieftains of the Labeate district. Of its intercourse with the Hellenic communities in early times a curious monument has been discovered in the neighbouring village of Gurizi, in the shape of a bronze statuette representing a female figure of archaic Greek workmanship, not unlike some of those discovered at Dodona,<sup>a</sup> and I have elsewhere described a new series of Illyrian coins discovered at Selci in the North Albanian Alps, which introduce us for the first time to Scodra as a free city under Macedonian hegemony.<sup>b</sup> On the other hand, after careful researches on the spot I have been unable to discover any such architectural or epigraphic traces as are to be found on other historic sites in Southern Illyria, at Alessio, for example, and Durazzo. On the South-western edge of the citadel peak, now known as Rosafa, there are indeed some traces of a rude wall built of huge uncemented blocks, the existing remains of which bear some resemblance to the so-called Cyclopean fragments in the foundation of the citadel walls at Alessio.<sup>c</sup> Excepting this, however, I was unable to obtain other relics of Scodra, Illyrian, or Roman, beyond coins and a few intagli. Among the coins, silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia are still so abundant that they occasionally pass current along with old Ragusan and Venetian pieces in the bazaars of the modern Albanian town. An onyx gem in my possession from this site bears the legend AVSONI.

The disappearance of larger monuments on this site is no doubt due to the extraordinary deposits of alluvial matter resulting from the yearly inundations of the lake and river. So rapid is the growth of the soil owing to this cause that on the plain near Scutari I have myself seen the columns of the Turkish canopied

<sup>a</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. t. xxiv. p. 1, engraved pl. xv.

<sup>b</sup> See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins."

<sup>c</sup> A fragment of the Alessio wall is engraved in Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122.

Tebés built during the last three centuries buried up to the spring of the arches that support their cupolas.

After leaving Scodra, the Roman road, the better probably to avoid the marshy tract near the borders of the lake, appears to have run for a few miles almost due north. On the spacious plain or common that opens to the north of the modern town of Scutari, which is studded with pre-historic barrows (here, unlike the stone mounds of the rockier Dalmatian region, mainly composed of earth), I have observed the remains of an ancient embanked way, now overgrown with heath and bracken, running to the West of the Kiri river and the "Venetian bridge" leading to Drivasto, almost midway between lake and mountains. In the neighbourhood of the village of Boksi the Roman road appears to have taken a westerly bend, and the distance of Cinna,\* the first station beyond Scodra, given in the *Tabula* as twenty miles, must lead us to seek its site in the district of Hotti, where a marshy inlet of the lake juts into the mountains. I am informed by the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans that in their church at Hotti are two Roman inscriptions, and that on the neighbouring site of Helmi are the remains of a considerable ancient building which he believed to be a temple, as well as another inscription built into the house. On these remains I hope on a future occasion to be able to give a more satisfactory report.

Cinna, to be identified with the modern Helmi (an Albanian form of the Old Serbian *hulm*, a hill), bears the name of an Illyrian queen. In the mountains beyond it lay Medeon, where Anicius captured the consort and two sons of the last Scodran dynast, King Genthios. The name of this old Illyrian stronghold appears to survive in that of the hill-fortress of Medun, to the North-east of Podgorica, the mediæval *Medon*, so long the bone of contention between Montenegrin and Albanian Turk. Near Medeon, and below the heights on which its modern representative, Medun, lies, is the village of Dukle, which still preserves the name of the ancient Doklea, later *Dioclea*, the birth-place and name-giver of Diocletian. This site is rich in monuments of antiquity, amongst which was discovered an honorary dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the Commonwealth of the Docleates.<sup>b</sup> It was here that the famous glass vessel, generally known as the

\* According to the *Itinerary* of Antonine this station is only xii. miles from Scodra—probably an error for xxii. In the same way the *Itinerary* increases the distance between Cinna and Berziminium by two miles = m. p. xviii., as against xvi. in the *Tabula*. With regard to the name of the place I adopt the reading of Antonine, as being generally more correct than those of the *Tabula*, and as giving the name of an Illyrian queen. In Ptolemy it appears as *Xirva*.

<sup>b</sup> IMP · CAES · P · LICINIO · GALLIENO ¶ PIO · FELICI · AVG · PONT · MAX ¶ TRIB · POT · P · P · CONS · III · RES ¶ PVBL · DOCLEATIVM · (C. I. L. iii. 1705). The best account of the ruins on the site of Dukle is in Kovalevski,





Vase of Podgorica, was found, engraved with typical scenes from the Old Testament by a Roman-Christian hand, explained by inscriptions which afford a most valuable indication of the provincial dialect of this part of Roman Dalmatia.\* As a further proof of the indigenous character of this manufacture, I may mention that I have recently seen some additional fragments of late-Roman glass from this site, resembling in the style of their engraving the celebrated Vase, but without inscriptions.

Neither Doklea<sup>b</sup> nor Medeon appear in the *Tabula*, or Antonine, from which we may infer that they lay slightly off the main route between Scodra and Narona. In these authorities the next station is Birzinio, or Bersumno, according to Antoninus eighteen miles distant from Cinna; according to the *Tabula*, sixteen. This fits in well with the neighbourhood of Podgorica,<sup>c</sup> the cradle of the Nemanjas, the princely race which placed for awhile on Serbian brows the falling diadem of Diocletian and Constantine. The Roman station of Birzimi-

*Četyre mjesjaca v Černogorii.* (Four months in Montenegro.) St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 81-85, cited by Jireček, *op. cit.*. There are massive remains of an aqueduct, town walls in the form of a parallelogram, columns and ruins of a temple or large building known as "Carski Dvor—the Emperor's palace," sarcophagi with bas-reliefs and Latin inscriptions. Some new inscriptions from this site have been recently communicated by Dr. Bogišić to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Doklea gave its name to the Slavonic region of Dioklia, from which in the early Middle Ages the Serbs extended the name *More Dioklitijsko*, "the Dioclitian sea," to the Adriatic itself. The additional "i" of the later form of the name, *Dioclea*, is said to have been due to an endeavour to justify its etymological connexion with the name of Diocletian. But the alternative name *Dioclea* appears too early to justify such an artificial origin. The authority for Diocletian's birth at *Dioclea* is the almost contemporary Aurelius Victor, whose statement on this head is clear: "*Diocletianus Dalmata, Anulini Senatoris libertinus, matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea, quorum vocabulis donec imperium sumeret Diocles appellatus, ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit Grajum nomen in Romanum morem convertit.*" (*Epit. c. xxxix.*) It is to be observed that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while placing Diocletian's birth-place at Salona, makes Diocletian found *Dioclea*: "*Τὸ κάστρον Διοκλεία τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἐκδομήσεν.*" (*De Adm. Imp. c. 29*, and cf. c. 35, where he speaks of it as being then *λημέκαστρον*, as we should say, "a waste chester.") Ptolemy mentions a *Διοκλεία* (al. *Δόκλα*) in Phrygia; not unknown to ecclesiastical history.

\* This vase is now in the Musée Basilewsky in Paris. It is described and illustrated by the Cav. di Rossi in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1877, p. 77). The linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions on it suggest interesting comparisons with the Romance survivals in the dialect of Ragusa. See p. 82, *Note*.

<sup>b</sup> It appears to me probable that the obscure "Diode," placed between "Lissum" and "Codras," or Scodra, in *Guidonis Geographia* (114), stands for "*Dioclea*," a hint that the name appeared under this form in some copy of the *Tabula*.

<sup>c</sup> The older Serbian name of Podgorica was Ribnica, still preserved by the small stream that flows beside its walls. (Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 20.) This place derived its importance as lying in the centre of the district of Zenta.



nium would have been the point of bifurcation for the road leading to Doclea and Medeon, and its identification with the site of Podgorica fits in very well with a hint of Ravennas, that "Medione" lay in its vicinity.

It is certain that from this point the Roman road must have followed the upward ascent of the Zeta valley. The next station, Alata or Halata, the Aleta of Ptolemy and Ravennas, ten miles distant from Birziminium, would thus take us to the neighbourhood of Danilovgrad,<sup>b</sup> and the seventeen or eighteen miles given as the distance from this to the next station, Salluntum, brings us over the pass of Ostrog to the plain of Nikšić. It is interesting in connexion with the proved affinities between the Illyrians and the Messapians of the opposite Italian coast to note the curious parallel between the juxta-position of *Aleta* and *Salluntum* in the Dalmatian Itineraries, and the appearance of an Apulian *Aletium* in the district of the *Sallentini*.

The aspect of the town of Nikšić, better known as the Onogost of Old Serbian history, is singularly Roman (Pl. III.); indeed its ground-plan (fig. 8<sup>a</sup>) presents the familiar outline of a Roman castrum, with square and polygonal towers at the four corners and in the centre of the side walls. This quadrilateral arrangement, however, occurs in some other Herzegovinian towns, Ljubinje, for instance, and is rather, perhaps, due to some later wave of Byzantine influence. The walls, in their present construction, are unquestionably mediæval, though it is always possible that the Old Serbian architects followed pre-existing lines.

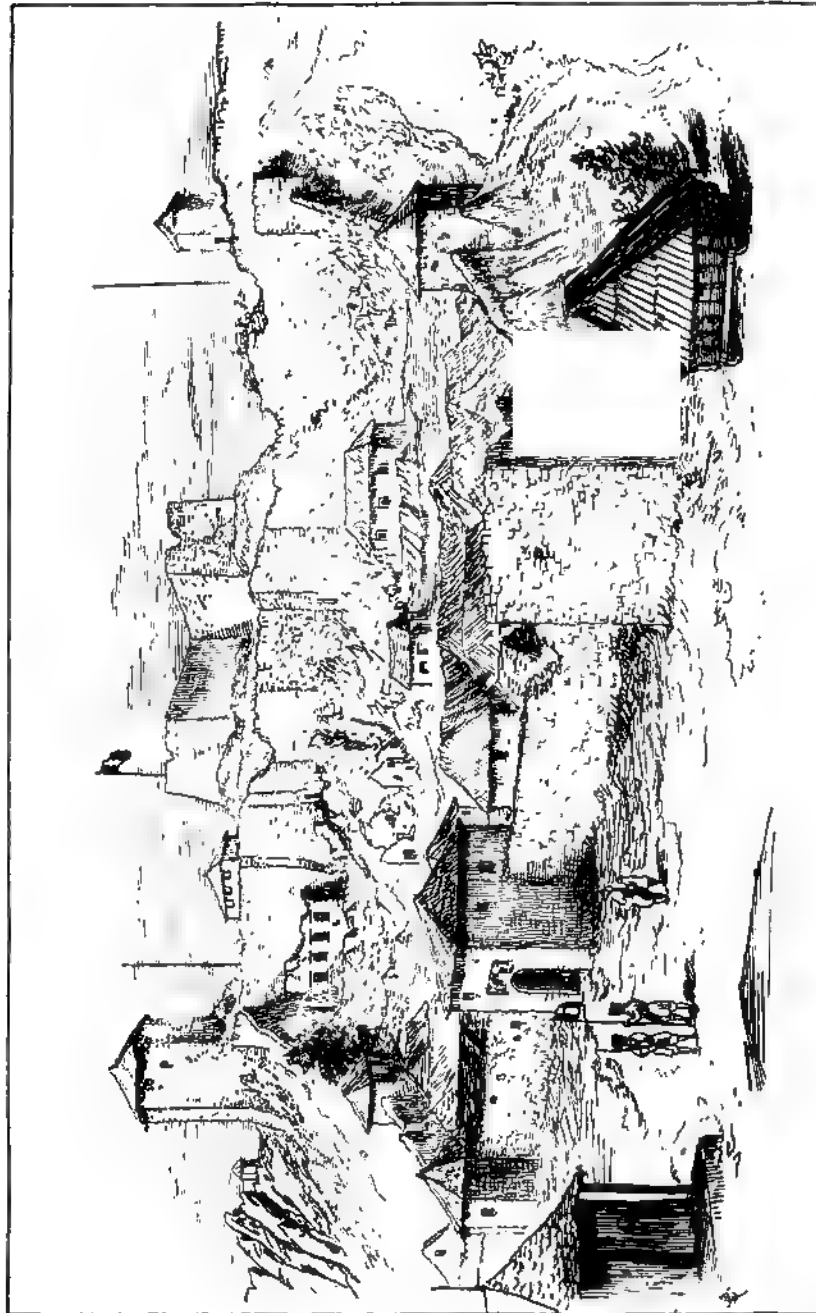
Excepting this ground-plan, I have been unable to light upon any direct indications of the existence of a Roman Municipium on the site. Roman gems and coins, however, occur from time to time in this neighbourhood, and the importance of this central plain of Nikšić, whether as one of the most fertile spots in this part of the Dinaric Alps, or as the natural crossing-point of routes leading from East to West, and from the Bocche di Cattaro, or Rhizonic gulf, into the interior, renders it certain that it fulfilled in the Roman economy of this Illyrian tract a function at least as important as that performed by it in mediæval times. The archæological explorer in the plain of Nikšić is struck by the number of mediæval cemeteries to be met with on every side, and by the grandeur of the

<sup>a</sup> Geog. Ravennas, p. 211 (ed. Pinder et Parthey): "*Item juxta Burrumon est Civitas quæ dicitur Medione*," &c.

<sup>b</sup> Prof. Tomaschek neglects the abiding conditions of intercourse as fixed by the physical configuration of the country in seeking the site of Aleta out of the Zeta Valley: "*Vielleicht östlich von Cetinje, bei Gradac oder Uljici*," *op. cit.* p. 42. The name Aleta itself he compares with the Albanian *hel* [pl. *heljete* (*hejete*)] — a point, as of a lance, &c.







*View of the Old City, Nikšić.*

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, By A. J. EVANS, F.S.A.



tombs, the sculptures of which are in this district wrought in a better style than elsewhere. These Old Serbian monuments derive both their general outline and

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(Fig. 8.)

Fig. 8\*. PLAN OF OLD CITY, NIKŠIĆ.

their special ornamentation, notably the vine spiral, the most frequent of all, from Roman prototypes, and the excellence of the Nikšić tomb-sculptures is itself sufficient proof that those who wrought them had Roman models at hand. On a mediæval gravestone found near Nevesinje the Old Serbian sculptor has actually executed a rude copy of the symbolic Genius with reversed torch, so often seen on Roman sepulchral monuments.

Assuming that the site of the first Salluntum (another is subsequently mentioned on the same route) is to be sought on the extreme east of the Nikšić plain, perhaps even in the Gračanica valley, there would be room for the two next stations, Varis eleven miles distant, and Andarva, or Anderva, six miles further

in the middle of the plain itself, and on its Western margin, respectively.\* On the ground of a Montenegrin *saga*, Dr. Jireček and others have considered themselves justified in assuming that the Roman road in its onward course, from the Upper Zeta valley and the margin of the Nikšić plain, took the direction of Grahovo. According to this *saga*, as related by Vuk Karadžić,<sup>b</sup> three brothers fell to contending which should take with him their only sister, whereupon they set themselves three tasks. One said that he would wall in the mountains, another that he would build a church in Dioclea, the third that he would join the Cijevna and the Morača. The third brother finished his work first, but "foolish Vuk," the first, had time to build a boundary wall from the Bijela Gora (which forms the triple frontier of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina), four days' journey to the great mountain of Kom, which lies in the Montenegrin canton of Kući, near the Albanian border. On the strength of an assertion of the French traveller, Violla de Sommières, this semi-mythical boundary-dyke, of which it is especially said that (unlike a Roman road) it follows the contour of the hills,<sup>c</sup> has been converted into a Roman road, although its whole course, as described in the *Saga*, is wholly irreconcilable with the exigencies of road engineering. In the neighbourhood of the plain of Grahovo, by which it is said to run, I have sought for it in vain, but, on the other hand, I have come upon an existing trace and a popular tradition connected with it which preserves the distinct record of a road running inland from the site of the ancient Risinium to the plain of Nikšić, and far into the interior. In dry weather a straight line, the trace of an ancient Way, is seen running straight across the Crivoscian plain of Dvrsno, from the opening of the pass which leads to Risano, the ancient Risinium, to that leading to the

\* The attempt to identify Sallunto (ii.) with the Šlansko Polje (Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. p. 149), on the ground of similarity of name, is too hazardous; and the same applies to its comparison with either of the two *Šlanos*. The Serbian form of the Illyro-Roman word, if directly adopted and preserved, would be *Solunat*: Tomaschek's suggested comparison with the name of the village of *Zaljut* (inadmissible on other grounds) must therefore be discarded. I would suggest the identification of this "Sallunto" with the "*Lontodocla*" in the region of Dioclia, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*op. cit.* c. 25). It might be a "*Sallunto-Docleatium*," to distinguish it from the other "Sallunto" on the same route further to the West.

<sup>b</sup> Lexicon, s.v. VUKOVA MEGJA.

<sup>c</sup> "Od jednoga kraja do drugoga ove megje prijekijem putem ima oko četiri dana hoda; a kad bi se išlo preko gudura i litica pored nje bilo bi mnogo više." ("From one end to the other of this boundary-wall, as you go forward, is about four days' journey; but were one to go along it through glen and over ridge it would be much further.") Vuk, *loc. cit.* This description recalls rather the up and down progress of a Roman frontier-wall, such as that from Tyne to Solway, than any Roman road.







Montenegrin plain of Grahovo. The trace is known to the Crivoscian peasants as "St. Sava's path," and they have a tradition that it was along this route that the founder of the Serbian Church was carried to his Minster tomb at Mileševa, which lies in the Novipazar district beyond the Lim.\* The trace itself, as well as the tradition, points to the existence of an ancient line of communication between the Rhizonic gulf, the Drina Valley, where it would join the Danubian road-system, and the route which traversed the ore-producing ranges of Dardania. The same line was still followed by the Cattarese merchants in the Middle Ages, who passed from Risano through this Crivoscian plain, then peopled by a Rouman tribe, the Vlachi Rigiani (who seem to have perpetuated the Illyro-Roman race of the ancient Risinium), thence through Grahovo to Nikšić, and thence again across the Drina to Plevlje, itself the site of the most important Roman settlement in that part of Illyricum. The natives declare that "St. Sava's path" can be traced right away to Mileševa itself. My own observations have led me to the conclusion that the "kalderym," or paved mule-track, over the mountains between Grahovo and the plain of Nikšić, runs in places along the trace of a Roman Way.

The point where this cross-line of communication between Risinium and the Drina Valley intersects the highway Scodra—Narona, which we have been pursuing, lay unquestionably in the Western angle of Nikšić plain, where, as has been shown from a measurement of distances, we must seek the city of Anderva. I have now to adduce some remarkable evidence bringing the name of this city into relation with a Roman Municipium on the Drina, and thus affording a new indication that a cross-line of Roman road, connecting Risinium with that river, cut the Dalmatian-Epirote highway at this spot.

The ancient track already mentioned, running from Risano and the Bocche di Cattaro to the plain of Nikšić, and which for practical purposes may be identified with the Roman road-line, is continued across the plain and through the long Duga Pass, so often the scene of combat between Turk and Montenegrin, to the plain of Gacko, where it meets another ancient route, running from the site of Epitaurum and the later Ragusa, of which more will be said. From this point both routes unite and are prolonged across the wild Čemerno ranges to Foča, in the Drina Valley, and the important bridge-town of Gorazda, where this Adriatic line meets

\* This, of course, is historically impossible, as St. Sava died at Tirnovo, in Bulgaria, and must therefore have been carried to Mileševo from the East.

† Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, sect. 11. *Von Cattaro nach Plevlje* (p. 72).

the cross-line of communication between the upper valley of the Bosna, the Lim, and the ore-bearing ranges of Old Serbia,—in other words, the ancient route connecting Salonæ with the *Metalla Dalmatica* and *Argentaria*.

At Gorazda Dr. Hoernes\* had already observed a *sarcophagus* with an obliterated inscription. During a recent visit to this place I found, near the old bridge over the Drina, several more ancient fragments, and amongst them a bas-relief of an eagle, in a rude style but of Roman origin, carved on a porphyritic marble, which was much used by the Roman masons and sculptors of Plevlje, the next important Roman site to the south-east of Gorazda. Walled into the apse of the Orthodox church, a foundation of Duke Stephen, from whom Herzegovina derives its name, and which lies on the banks of the Drina a little below the present town, I was so fortunate as to discover two Roman inscriptions. When

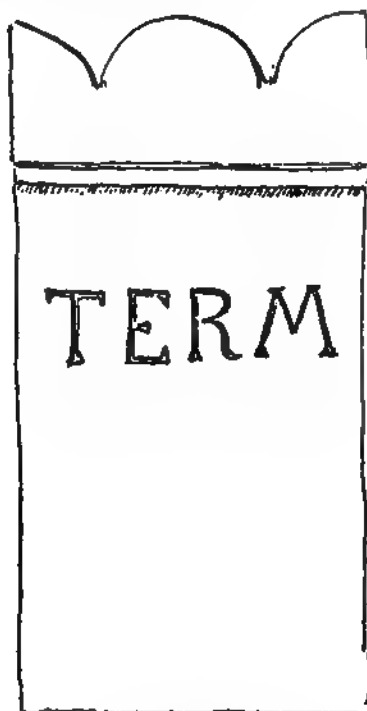


Fig. 9<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN MONUMENT.  
Gorazda, Bosnia.

I first saw them they were almost wholly covered with a coating of plaster, which however, with the aid of the priest, I succeeded to a great extent in removing.

\* *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. (in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* vol. iv. p. 47).





The first was apparently a part of an altar with the inscription *TERM*, perhaps originally a boundary altar, marking the limits of the municipal *Ager* (fig. 9<sup>a</sup>).

The other monument formed a portion of a larger slab, containing a dedication, probably of a temple, to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Cohortalis* (fig. 10<sup>a</sup>), to whom a dedicatory inscription has also been found at Narona.<sup>a</sup>



Fig. 10<sup>a</sup>. ROMAN MONUMENT REFERRING TO THE ANDARVANI.  
Gorazda, Bosnia.

The part preserved of the second line probably records the share taken in the dedication by a *Decurio* of the *MVNICIPIVM ANDARVANORVM*, about which latter name there is no room for doubt. Andarva, or Anderva itself, lying as it did on the main-line of road between Scodra and Narona, cannot by any possibility be sought so far inland as Gorazda; but the occurrence of the name of the Andarvani on a monument at Gorazda is of value, as indicating a direct road-connexion between it and the plain of Nikšić, where we have to seek the ancient site of Andarva.<sup>b</sup>

The plain of Nikšić, then, in Roman times was in all probability the point of intersection of two important thoroughfares, one leading from Scodra and the

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 1782, I O M C O R || CHOR || TALIS. In the present inscription the H of CHOR(TALIS) is obliterated, but doubtless was originally contained within the C.

<sup>b</sup> It seems to me probable that this line Nikšić—Gacko—Gorazda is indicated by the Geographer of Ravenna, who refers to a line of stations, "*Sapua—Bersellum—Ibisua—Derva—Citua—Anderba*."

Epirote cities to the great Dalmatian emporia of Naronæ and Salonæ; the other connecting the coast-city, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, with the mining centres of the old Dalmatian interior, and the Danubian provinces. From this central plain, pursuing the route towards Naronæ, we find the physical obstacles by no means so great as those that then deflected the route from Scodra to Nikšić. Hence, it follows that a straight line drawn from the centre of the plain of Nikšić to the site of Naronæ may give some idea of the general direction of the Roman Way in this part of its course. A glance at the map discloses the fact that, if we now start from Naronæ, a line so drawn, so far from approaching the sea at any point, inclines further and further inland from that city to the plain of Nikšić. On the other hand, it will be observed that this ideal line passes either through or in close proximity to sites which in mediæval and modern times have been at once the chief centres of habitation, and the principal strategic points in this part of the Dinaric interior.

It passes within a few miles of the very important position of Stolac, where Roman remains and inscriptions indicating the former existence of a Municipium have recently been discovered. The distance of Stolac from the site of Naronæ answers almost exactly to the xx m.p. given by the *Itinerary* of Antonine as the distance from Naronæ to the next station on this side, important enough to be mentioned by that authority--Dallunto, the Dilunto of the *Tabula*. The continued importance of Diluntum is attested by the appearance of the Municipium Diluntinum--or, as it appears there, "Delontino"--in the Acts of the Council held at Salonæ in 532 A.D. It is there mentioned along with the Municipium Novense (the site of which, as we have seen, lay at Runović, near Imoski), and an obscure Municipium Stantinum, as having a Christian *Basilica*, placed under the charge of the bishop of the inland Dalmatian town of Sarsenterum.\*

At the village of Tassovčić,<sup>b</sup> lying in the Narenta valley, between Stolac and Naronæ, are ancient columns and other remains, and the position answers well to that of Ad Turres, the intermediate station between Naronæ and Diluntum.

Assuming the identification of Stolac with Diluntum to be correct, the course of the natural route towards Nikšić leads us to seek for the next station, Pardua,

\* *Acta Concilii II. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173. The identification of *Stantinum* with Stagno, urged by Dr. Hoernes on the strength of the existence of the later *Župa Stantania* from *Ston*, the Slavonic form of Stagno, is hardly admissible, since the Acts of this Council of Salona show as yet no trace of Slavonic settlement or nomenclature in that part of Dalmatia which they concern.

<sup>b</sup> I have referred to these in my work on Bosnia (2nd ed. p. 361), where, however, Tassovčić is wrongly printed Tassorić.







fourteen miles distant, in the plain of Dabar, a district—as its Old Serbian monuments show—the scene of some commercial prosperity in the Middle Ages.\* The next station, “Ad Zizio” (sixteen miles), where, according to the *Tabula*, the junction line to Epitaurum branched off, would thus lie in the neighbourhood of Bilek. The two stations, “Leusinio,” m.p. viii. and “Sallunto,” m.p. xii. that occur between this and Andarva, which all authorities agree in placing on the plain of Nikšić, should be sought, according to this calculation, in the passes of Banjani.

We have only now to deal with the objection already alluded to, that, according to the Geographer of Ravenna, the earlier stages of the route Narona—Scodra ran along the Adriatic coast. Something has been said already on Ravenna’s identification of Pardua with “Stammes,” or Stagno; it may, however, be well to point out how absolutely his statement on this head is at variance with the more trustworthy data supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine. If the distances given in those two authorities are to be even approximately observed, it is impossible that the five stations between Narona and Epitaurum, or even four out of the five, lay along the sea-coast. The distance to be traversed by road between Epitaurum and Narona is, according to the *Tabula*, 112 miles; the actual distance along the coast is about 55. It is impossible, as Dr. Hoernes admits, to make up this disparity of two to one from the bends of the road, and he draws the conclusion, that it is better to set aside the distances in the *Tabula* altogether.

But the distances given in the *Tabula* are the best guides we have. As a whole, they square well with the distances given in the *Itinerary*, and with the general statement of Pliny, that Epitaurum was 100 miles distant from Narona. Moreover, the general correctness of our two authorities in what regarded the section Salonæ—Narona gives us just grounds for believing that they are still to be relied on in the section Narona—Scodra.

When we find the distance, Epitaurum—Narona, *vid* the junction to Ad Zizio, is over twice the length of the coast line between the two, the natural inference is that the junction station of Ad Zizio is to be sought considerably in the interior, and that the angle formed by the two lines Narona—Ad Zizio and Epitaurum—Ad Zizio must approach a right angle.

\* The name *Dabar* suggests a connexion with the important tribe of the *Daversi* or *Daorsi*, who inhabited the ranges East of the Narenta at the time of the Roman Conquest. In the Romance dialect of Dalmatia (as exemplified by its surviving remnants in that of Ragusa), *v* is changed to *b*.

† Though the *Itinerary* of Antonine seems to give us authority for striking off 10 m. between Dilunto and Narona, see p. 79.

What has been said already here specially applies. The road Narona—Scodra was not made to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of Epitaurum. That the road Narona—Scodra made a *détour* to the coast of at least 35 miles to suit the convenience of any more obscure coast-city is a still less admissible hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the communications between Epitaurum and the great emporium of the Narenta must have been almost exclusively maritime, the land journey being restricted to the single mile across the peninsula of Stagno. The traffic between Ragusa, the modern representative of Epitaurum, and Metcovich, the modern representative of Narona, runs at the present day almost entirely by sea and river, and, in ancient days, when the whole coasting traffic of the Adriatic ran along the Dalmatian shore, the communication between the two cities would have been as exclusively maritime.

To Epitaurum, as to Ragusa, the value of a road must have depended on the extent to which it opened out its communications with the centres of habitation, in the Alpine interior, with what are now the upland plains of Trebinje, Gacko, Nikšić, and Nevesinje, in a still higher degree with the valley of the Drina beyond. The great caravan route, by which in mediæval times the merchandise of the West left the Adriatic coast for the furthest East, ran from Ragusa, the local successor of Epitaurum, straight inland over the interior ranges, past Trebinje and Gacko, to the valley of the Drina. It is highly probable that, as in the case of Cattaro already cited, this mediæval caravan route represents a very ancient line of communication between the Drina valley and its Adriatic outlet. In the course of many journeys among the Dalmatian and Herzegovinian ranges a phenomenon has been repeatedly observed by me, nowhere more than in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, which seems to prove that the mule tracks leading from the coast into the interior are often of high antiquity. The course of these hoof-worn mountain tracks is very often literally mapped out by a succession of prehistoric barrows belonging to the Illyrian Bronze Age, which persistently follow the course of the route. That the Roman road should have taken the same general direction as this ancient line of traffic between the Adriatic port and the Drina may be reasonably inferred, though, no doubt, its course was straighter than the actual route followed by the indigenes.

We will now turn to the evidence afforded by existing Roman remains. At Klek and Ranjevo Selo, near the southern mouth of the Narenta, have been found three Roman sepulchral inscriptions relating to private individuals.\* Along the whole

\* C. I. L. iii. 1763, 1764, 1765.





coast of the Raguseo, however, from Stagno to the site of Epitaurum, with the exception of a single sepulchral inscription found near Slano\* of the same unimportant character as the last, absolutely no relics of Roman habitation have been brought to light. Carefully as I have myself examined this coast line I have neither been able to discover any new inscriptions nor to find any traces of a Roman road. It must be remembered, moreover, that this maritime strip, unlike the wilder tracks of the Herzegovinian interior, has been for centuries under antiquarian observation. It has formed a part of what, to the beginning of the present century, was the highly civilised Republic of Ragusa, the birthplace of Banduri, and the Roman remains of which had already been made a subject of research by Aldus Manutius in the early days of the Renaissance. And yet, despite this prolonged antiquarian scrutiny, the remains of the Roman towns and stations that we are told to look for in the neighbourhood of Stagno, in the bay of Malfi, the valley of Ombla, or on the site of Ragusa itself, are absolutely non-apparent.

The absence of such remains along the coast, and the general considerations already enumerated, had long forced me to the conclusion that the Roman road communication between Epitaurum and Naronia ran inland and not along the coast. In this conclusion I was strengthened by observing on the flank of the mountain above the village of Plat, about three miles from the site of Epitaurum, the distinct trace of an ancient road running from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards a rocky *col* leading into the interior in the direction of Trebinje. Owing to the accumulation of talus on the platform of the road in the lapse of ages, the surface is concealed from view, and indeed it is best traced by looking at it from a hill a mile distant; but the arrow-like directness of its course at once proclaims its Roman origin<sup>b</sup>. In general appearance this talus-hidden track much resembles the track of the Roman road already described by me as running along the limestone steeps above the sea in the direction of the ancient city of Risinium.

\* C. I. L. iii. 1761.

<sup>b</sup> The traces of the Roman road above Plat are doubtless the same as those observed by Dr. Constantin Jireček in the neighbourhood of Ragusa Vecchia. (*Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, p. 8.) Dr. Jireček observes that the "via vetus quæ vocatur via regis" is mentioned in the Ragusan Catasters of the fourteenth century, and supposes, with great probability, that its Slavonic name was "*Carski Put*," "Cæsar's Way," a name by which Roman roads were generally known to Serbs and Bulgars in the Middle Ages, and answering to the Byzantine *ὁδὸς βασιλική*. In 1880 I took Dr. Hoernes to visit the traces, and his impression of their appearance as recorded by him (*Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. i. p. 2) agrees entirely with my own.

The wild limestone ranges amongst which the trace of the Roman way above Epitaurum is seen to lose itself, pursuing when last discernible a North-Easterly direction, are known by the general name of Drinji Planina. Inland to the north of this mountain mass opens the well-watered valley of the Trebinjčica, on which stands the old Herzegovinian city of Trebinje. It was whilst exploring this district that I came upon a more important clue. About two miles and a-half south of Trebinje, a tributary inlet of the main valley opens into the mountains that lie between that city and Ragusa Vecchia. This plain, known from its liability to inundation as the Mokro Polje, or "wet plain," presents an elongated form, and its major axis, if produced, would exactly connect the present site of Trebinje with the former site of Epitaurum.

Whilst examining a curious earthen mound in the centre of the spacious Mokro Polje, about one hour from Trebinje, I observed a rounded block of stone (fig. 11\*), about two and a-half feet in length, lying in some bushes at its base. Its form

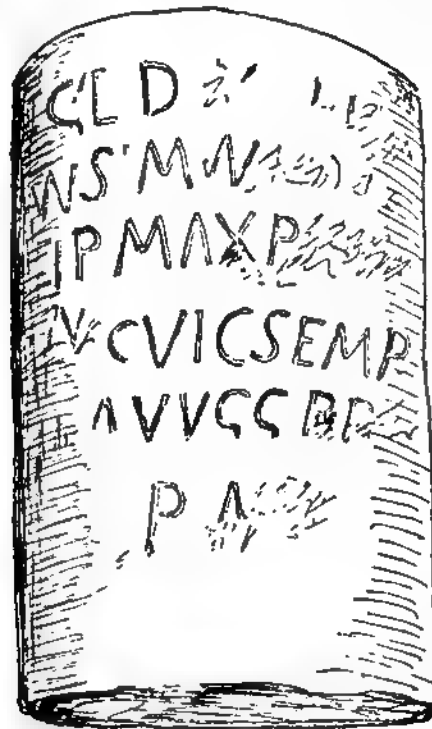


Fig. 11\*. ROMAN MILESTONE.  
Mokro Polje.

leading me to suspect that it might be a Roman milestone, I turned it over and discovered on the formerly buried side distinct traces of a Roman inscription,







which proved that my conjecture had been correct. The letters were unfortunately much weather-worn, and the copy which I am able to give, though the result of six separate visits to the spot, and careful collations of the inscription in all lights, is still far from satisfactory.

The titles "Vic(toriosissimi) Semp(er) Aug(usti)," which form the most legible part of the inscription, at once enable us to assign to it a fourth-century date. The latter part may, perhaps, be restored:—

PRIN(C)IP MAX P(EREN)  
N (A)C VIC SEMP  
(A) A V V G G B . R . P . N

*i.e.* (Prin(cip(es) max(im)i p(eren)n(es) a)c Vic(toriosissimi) semp(er) Aug(usti) B(ono) r(ei)p(ublicæ) n(ati). The style thus elucidated agrees very well with the age of Valens and Valentinian, and it is possible that the work of road restoration begun in Dalmatia under Julian (as may be learnt from miliary inscriptions found at Naronæ, Zara, and elsewhere)\* was continued under his successors. The imperfect preservation of the earlier part of the inscription prevents us from determining the names of the Emperors under whom this monument was raised, but the (A)AVVGG implies, according to the usage of the time, that two Augusti were then reigning.

Examining now the spot with a view to lighting on the traces of the road itself, the propinquity of which the milestone indicated, I was gratified with the sight of a slightly raised causeway running with arrow-like straightness across the plain, almost from north to south. On further inspection this proved to be the remains of an ancient road about seven paces wide, flanked by two small lateral ditches; and, as was to be expected from the nature of the soil, constructed of small fragments of grey limestone. In places it was extremely perfect, and presented a characteristic Roman section. Towards the middle it was slightly raised, and its sides were contained and supported by two low walls of massive well-cut masonry, with a slight inward slope (figs. 12<sup>a</sup>, 13<sup>a</sup>).

Southwards the track ran from the neighbourhood of the mound by which the fourth-century milestone lay straight and clear across the plain to an angle of mountain which concealed Trebinje from view. In places a modern path runs along the top of the embankment. Elsewhere it is accompanied by a mediæval paved

\* C. I. L. iii. 3207, 3208, 3209, 3211. The title given to Julian on these is "Victor ac triumphator totiusque orbis Augustus, bono reipublicæ natus."

way, or Turkish *kalderym*, quite distinct from the Roman work in character; and, finally, the roadline is prolonged, as so frequently in Britain, by a continuous line of hedgerow, reminding me of a "long hedge" on the Akeman Street.



(Fig. 12<sup>a</sup>) Section of Roman Way  
across Mokro Polje.

(Fig. 13<sup>a</sup>) Fragment of side-wall  
supporting road-way.

A little way beyond the small church of St. Pantaleon, which belongs to the village of Čičevo, and nearing the mountain promontory already mentioned, the traces of the road become still more distinct. An old bed of the Trebinje river, along which its current must have flowed in Roman times, is here perceptible, taking a considerable bend southwards. Along this bend, in the narrow strip between the former channel of the river and the mountain steep, and just below the modern road, the old road-line forms a clear-cut terrace, banked up on the side of the former river-bed by a wall of well-cut stone blocks, of undoubtedly Roman construction. From fragments of this stone embankment a later dam, which also serves as a footway, has been built in a rough fashion across a marshy part of the old channel, and at this point may be seen the remains of a pier of older masonry, which seems to have been the land abutment of a Roman bridge across the former course of the Trebinjčica (fig. 14<sup>a</sup>).

A little below this appear other distinct traces of Roman work. On the steep above the track of the Roman road, and leading out of it, a flight of steps seven paces in width has been hewn, like so many street steps on the site of Epitaurum, out of the solid rock. These steps, of which only the first two or three are at present traceable, seem to show that at this point a considerable street mounted what is at present the bare limestone steep; and, taken in connexion with the traces of a Roman wall, here visible above the ancient road, as well as the stone embankment and bridge-pier below, lead us to seek for the Roman station which was the local predecessor of Trebinje rather in this vicinity than at Trebinje itself, where, so far as my observation goes, no Roman remains are to be found.





The neighbouring village of Čičevo occupies the pleasantest and most fertile angle of the Mokro Polje, and Roman coins are not unfrequently discovered in

(Fig 14\*) Roman remains near  
Trebinje River.

the neighbouring fields.\* It is, in fact, inherently probable that the Roman station should have been built terrace-fashion on the rocky steeps that flank the plain rather than on the "wet plain" itself. The fact that the Roman road across the Mokro Polje runs throughout on a low embankment shows that in ancient times, as at present, it was liable to floods; and though the periodical inundation, due mainly to the welling-up of the water, from rock reservoirs below the surface, is at present mostly confined to the southern part of the plain, it is probable that, in Roman times, when the mountains were more wooded, and the rainfall consequently greater, it was subject to floods throughout its length.

Beyond the old bed of the Trebinjčica the traces of the road disappear, destroyed in all probability by its alluvial deposits, and still more by the constant tendency that it shows in this part of its course to shift its channel, a tendency illustrated only a short distance beyond the last traces of the Roman road by the disappearance in its waters of a *kalderym*, or paved way, that apparently at no remote date followed its bank.

Having traced the Roman road northwards to the banks of the Trebinje river and the apparent site of a Roman station, I will return to the mound by which the milestone lay, as a starting-point for exploring its southward course.

Near this point there are apparent traces of the beginning of a branch line of road leading towards the modern hamlet of Bugovina, whence it probably ascended an intervening range into the plain of Zubci, and reached, by a pass

\* I have a *denarius* of the Empress Lucilla from this site, with the reverse legend IVNONI LVCINAE.



already alluded to, the site of the Roman station that appears to have existed in the plain of Canali midway between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf.

From Zubci I obtained a Roman *fibula* or safety-pin of very remarkable form (see fig. 14\*). It will be observed that the groove in which the pin itself catches is provided with a hinged lid, so as to keep the pin doubly secure, and the appearance of another groove above the hinged lid shows that this in turn was made fast by a small bolt or catch. As an example of an improved Roman safety-pin this *fibula*, so far as I am aware, is altogether unique, and the invention may be reasonably set to the credit of local, probably Epitaurian or Risinian, manufacture.

Fig. 14\*. FIBULA FROM ZUBCI.

To return to the main road. The course of the Roman Way to the south continues so far as the plain extends with the same arrow-like directness as before (see sketch map Pl. III.), leaving on the right, less than a mile distant from the milestone mound, the mediæval ruins of an Old Serbian Minster dedicated to St. Peter—Petrov Manastir—the foundation of which I found ascribed by local saga, amongst others, to “Czar Duklijan”—the Emperor Diocletian! From this spot the trace of the Roman Way makes straight for a defile in the range already referred to, that separates the Mokro Polje from the Adriatic haven where Epitaurum formerly stood. Observing the point in the mountains to which the ancient roadway tended, I inquired of a party of peasants whom I found working in the fields near to where the milestone lay whether there was not another stone like it in that direction. All shook their heads, but at last an old Mahometan answered that there certainly was a rock known as “the round stone” (*Oblî Kamen*) in the direction I had indicated, and, finally, for a consideration, consented to guide me to the spot. Three-quarters of an hour’s walk brought us to a rocky eminence at the entrance of the defile (which is known as Lučin Dô), commanding a full view of the long Mokro Polje, and here, after a prolonged hunt among the brushwood, my guide hit upon a large cylindrical fragment, partly imbedded in the soil, which turned out to be the “round stone” we were seeking. It lay not far from the present mule-path between Trebinje and Ragusa Vecchia, which here follows more or less accurately the course of the Roman Way.









*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883*



The "round stone" proved to be part of a larger monument, other portions of which I presently discovered in the bushes near. The first discovered fragment was 81 inches in length, exhibiting at what was its upper end a circular section  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, but which took the shape at its lower end of an ellipse  $28\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inches, thus presenting a slightly-tapering outline, showing it to have formed part of a somewhat obelisk-like column. At its larger elliptical end lay a huge fragment of its square base.

A few feet off lay a smaller fragment, which appeared to be the top of the column. Upon this was an inscription giving the name and titles of the Emperor Claudius, engraved in letters nearly three inches high, so as to be legible from a considerable distance (fig. 15<sup>a</sup>). The central portion of the inscription was broken away, but from a calculation of the letter space at our disposal it can be restored with sufficient certainty.

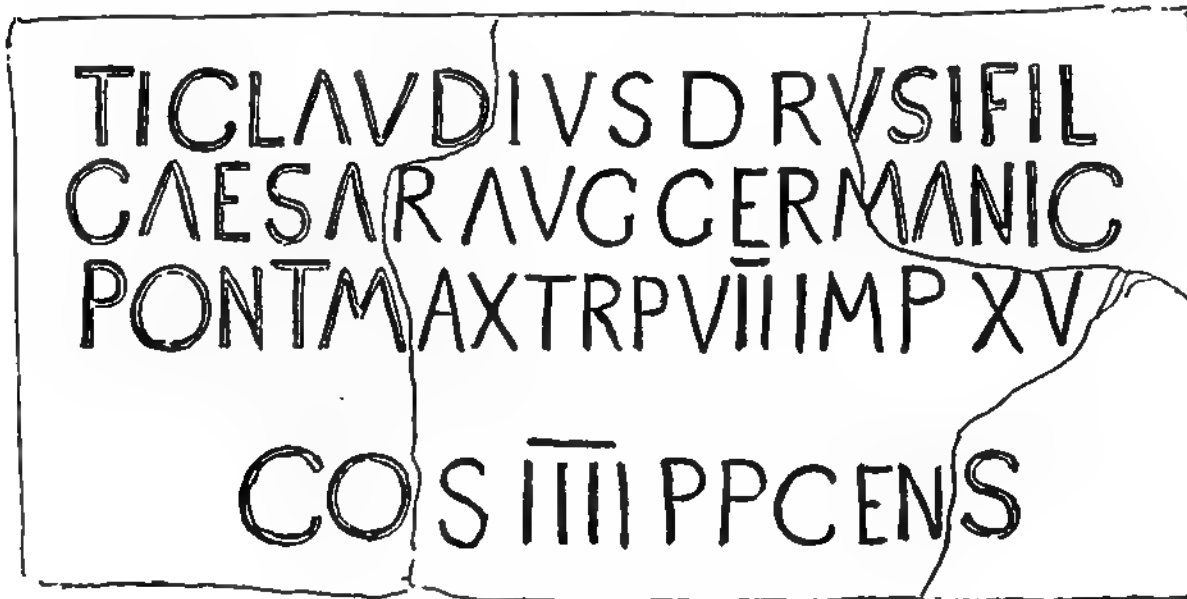


Fig. 15<sup>a</sup>. MILLIARY COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.  
Lučin Dô.

*Tiberius* CLAVDVS, DRVSI FILIVS, CAESAR AVGVSTVS, GERMANICVS,  
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS, TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE VIIII IMPERATOR XV,  
CONSUL IIII, PATER PATRIÆ, CENSOR.

The date of the inscription would thus be 47-48 A.D. The column itself is unquestionably of the milliary kind, and, though the continuation of the inscription recording the mileage from Epitaurum or elsewhere has unfortunately perished,

the mention of the name and titles of Claudius shows that, in all probability, this road connecting Epitaurum with the interior was completed under his auspices. It would thus appear that this Emperor, by the hands of his legates, continued the work of road-making through the Dalmatian Alps, so worthily begun by Dolabella under his predecessor Tiberius. The date of this Claudian column, which must certainly have recorded no mean achievement of Roman engineering, almost synchronises (if the numbers supplied be correct) with the opening of the *Via Claudia Augusta*, leading from the mouth of the Po, over the Brenner Pass,

to the banks of the Upper Danube, the construction of which had been directed by Drusus, but which was finally completed by his son in 47 A.D.\* It would appear that in Upper as well as in Lower Illyricum Claudius cemented the conquests of his father and predecessor by completing another great line of Roman road, this time leading from the Adriatic to the Drina and the Middle-Danubian system. The still-existing tribute of the cities of Upper Illyricum to Dolabella would lead us to believe that this, like so many other Dalmatian roads, owed its first beginnings to the energetic provincial Governor of Tiberius.

Fig. 16<sup>a</sup>. COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS.  
(Restored.)

The diameter of the summit of this inscribed fragment, the section of which was circular, was just twelve inches; the lower part of it was too much broken to enable an exact measurement to be taken. Assuming that the column or obelisk, after taking its circular form, continued to diminish in the ratio of about six inches to every 80, indicated by the first discovered fragment, the whole must have stood originally about 20 feet high, excluding the base, which may have added another three feet above the ground level. When perfect the monument would have presented an imposing appearance, and from its conspicuous site must have been visible for miles (fig. 16<sup>a</sup>).

\* The construction of this road is recorded on a milliary column found at Feltria (C. I. L. v. 8002):  
TI · CLAVDIVS · DRVSI · F || CAESAR · AVG · GERMA|NICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXV|VVS · TRIBVNICIA ·  
POTESTA|TE · VI. COS. IV. IMP XI P. P. || CENSOR · VIAM · CLAVDIAM || AVGVSTAM · QVAM · DRVSVS ||  
PATER · ALPIBVS BELLO PATE || FACTIS · DEREXERAT · MVNIT · AB || ALTINO · VSQVE · AD · FLVMEN ||  
DANVVIVM · M. P. CCCL. Another similar was found at Meran (C. I. L. v. 8003).





Near the remains of this larger column were fragments apparently of two lesser monuments of the same kind, the basis or part of the shaft of one being still fixed in the soil. In all I counted seven cylindrical fragments, but, although I excavated the half-buried fragments and repeatedly explored the spot, I did not succeed in bringing to light any fresh inscription.

Following the later mule-track which leads from the Mokro Polje past "the round stone," and across the mountains to the Gulf of Breno and the peninsular site of the ancient Epitaurum, now Ragusa Vecchia, I came here and there on distinct terraces along the mountain side, which evidently mark the continued course of the Roman road-line. These traces were most apparent below the Turkish Kula or watch-tower of Smerdeća, on the flanks of the Lug Planina, and again at Glavski Dô, where a considerable *kalderym* follows apparently the old trace. Beyond this point the remains may be traced uninterruptedly till they join the trace of the Roman road, which myself and others had already observed running along the mountain side above the village of Plat and the Gulf of Breno. Thence it descended to Obod and the spot where the memorial monument was discovered dedicated to Dolabella, the Road-Maker, by the grateful cities of Upper Illyricum, and past the cliffs which served as Roman gravestones, to Epitaurum itself.

From the column of Claudius to Ragusa Vecchia may be reckoned four hours of difficult progress by the present mule-paths, and, considering the ruggedness of the country, the Roman road must have made still greater bends in traversing these *Planinas*. The distance as the crow flies is barely eight miles, but the distance by the Roman road could hardly have been under 15 miles. If we now add to this an additional five miles as the distance between the "round stone" of Claudius and the remains on the Trebinjčica, which apparently indicate the former existence of a Roman station, we arrive within a mile of the xx m.p. given in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the distance between Epitaurum and Asamo, the intermediate station on the junction-line Ad Zizium—Epitaurum. *Asamus* appears elsewhere in Illyricum as a river-name, being the ancient form of the Bulgarian river Osma. Judging therefore from the name alone, we should naturally look for the site of *Asamo* on a river.

The discovery of an important line of Roman road (as its monuments show), running inland from Epitaurum, and the identification of the Roman remains on the Trebinjčica with the ancient "Asamo," give us at once a new starting-point for our investigation. The conclusion which I had already arrived at on other grounds, that the junction-line connecting Epitaurum with the main line of com-



munication Narona—Scodra, ran through the interior of the country, and not along the coast, as hitherto believed, is placed on something more than a theoretic basis.

Assuming that the course of the Roman road across the Mokro Polje gives at least an approximate indication of its subsequent route over the ranges beyond the Trebinje river, the station of "Ad Zizio," marked as the point of junction between the Epitaurum road and the main line from Narona, and placed 28 miles distant from "Asamo," should be sought in the district of Rudine, beyond the Herzegovinian town of Bilek, in the district that is, in which, from independent considerations, I had been already led to seek it. I am informed by an engineer who had to do with a modern road in that district (although circumstances have prevented my verifying his statement) that traces of an ancient embanked way, distinct in structure from the Turkish *kalderyms*, and believed by him from the directness of its course to be Roman, are to be seen leading from near Bilek, past Korita and Crnica and across the plain of Gacko, in a Northerly direction. The existence of this ancient trace greatly supports the view already advanced that the junction-line from Epitaurum continues to pursue the same general direction after leaving "Asamo"; and corroborates the opinion that the real usefulness of the line from Epitaurum to "Ad Zizio" was not so much as affording a practicable avenue of land communication with Narona, but rather as forming a section of an independent road-line, the further course of which is clearly marked by the ancient embanked way across the plain of Gacko, connecting the Adriatic haven with the Drina Valley and the Danubian system, and which, further inland, coalesced with the line already indicated, that brought Risinium into the same connexion.

In the valley of the Drina this Adriatic route would intersect another main-line of thoroughfare between West and East, that, namely, which brought Salonæ into communication with the ore-bearing ranges of whæ; in the Middle Ages formed the cradle of the Rascian kingdom, and, ultimately, with the Macedonian valleys. Of the Roman remains along this route I hope to speak in a succeeding paper; meanwhile, it is interesting to reflect in connexion with the Roman road from Epitaurum with the interior that, when centuries later its local successor, the Republic of Ragusa, took the lead in opening up anew the re-barbarized midlands of Illyria to commerce and civilization, her caravans passed along a line identical throughout the greater part of its extent with that of the Roman Way. So close, indeed, is the parallel, that the Itinerary of the Venetian Ramberti, who in 1533 passed along this Ragusan overland route to Con-





stantinople, may serve to indicate the probable position of some of the Roman stations.\* His first night station after leaving Ragusa by a rough mountain track was Trebinje, sixteen miles distant, near which, as we have seen, was the ancient Asamo, 20 m.p. according to the *Tabula* from Epitaurum. His next station, twenty miles, is Rudine, the very district in which we have been enabled to place the site of Ad Zizio. "Curita" (Korito) and "Cervice" (Crnica),<sup>b</sup> the next two stations mentioned, are still on the trace of the Roman road. In all, from Ragusa to the Drina was then five days' journey.

Thus it was that in days when Ragusa stood forth as the successful rival of Venice in the Balkan lands, her caravans that transported the products of Italian industry overland to the shores of the Black Sea and to the furthest East, and bore in return the silk of Tartary, the spices of India and Arabia, together with the silver ore of the Serbian mountains, to be transhipped to Venice and Ancona and transported to the markets of Florence and the West, passed along a route which had been opened out by Roman engineers over a thousand years before to their forefathers of Epitaurum, under the auspices, as we now know, of the son of Drusus.

\* Ramberti, *Delle cose de Turchi, Libri tre, Nel primo, il viaggio da Venetia à Costantinopoli, &c.* p. 5, (In Vinezia, nell' anno M.D. XXXI. In casa di Maestro Bernardin Milanese.)

<sup>b</sup> Mentioned already in 1380 as the site of a Ragusan customs station and small commercial colony. (*Liber Reformationum Majoris, Minoris, et Rogatorum Consiliorum, Civitatis Ragusii.* Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 75.)















